

University of South Carolina
Scholar Commons

Theses and Dissertations

Summer 2019

The Dynamics of Vote Buying in Developing Democracies: Party Attachment and Party Competition in Southeast Asia

Matthew Louis Wagner

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd>



Part of the [Political Science Commons](#)

THE DYNAMICS OF VOTE BUYING IN DEVELOPING DEMOCRACIES: PARTY
ATTACHMENT AND PARTY COMPETITION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

by

Matthew Louis Wagner

Bachelor of Arts
University of Minnesota, Morris 2004

Master of Arts
San Diego State University 2011

Master of Arts
University of South Carolina 2015

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Political Science

College of Arts and Sciences

University of South Carolina

2019

Accepted by:

John Fuh-sheng Hsieh, Committee Chair

Anu Chakravarty, Committee Member

Tobias Heinrich, Committee Member

Lee Walker, Committee Member

Cheryl L. Addy, Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

© Copyright by Matthew Louis Wagner, 2019
All Rights Reserved.

DEDICATION

There must be a beginning of any great matter, but the continuing unto the end until it be thoroughly finished yields the true glory (Sir Francis Drake, 1587).

To my mother, for her unwavering patience, support, and love. To my father, for taking me to the library as a boy, and teaching me the value of education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A task of this size is impossible to undertake alone. I would first like to thank my dissertation committee - Anu Chakravarty, Tobias Heinrich, John Hsieh, and Lee Walker for their support throughout my time as a graduate student at the University of South Carolina. I would also like to thank other faculty in the political science department, Chris Witko, Dave Darmofal, Brad Epperly, Laura Woliver, Tim Peterson, Doug Thompson. Because of them, I am not only a better scholar, but a better person. Allen Hicken at the University of Michigan, and Tom Pepinsky at Cornell University: thank you for listening to my half-baked ideas, and answering my numerous emails.

I would also like to thank the faculty in the Department of Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Malaya. As well as the Malaysian-American Commission on International Education. Both generously gave their time, making my stay in Malaysia a memorable one. Also, the members of Monarchy MMA, thank you for letting me train with you for awhile. As well as the staff at Prince Court Medical Center in Kuala Lumpur, for keeping me alive when I would have otherwise died.

My fellow graduate students: Kristin Bryant, Will Christiansen, Adam Cox, Stephanie Davis, Josh Deroche, Jim Heenehan, Matt Lawson, Malori Musselman, Wendell Mayes, Ardeshir Pezeshk, Sean Rodgers, Michael Seese, Ryan Strickler, and so many others. Without your friendship I would not have survived graduate school. I would also like to thank Mayra Gonzalez, Cleve Langsdale, Rebecca Lovelace, Jessie Rodriguez, and Matt Young, for giving me balance in life outside of the academy.

ABSTRACT

Broadly defined, what factors explain changes in party competition in developing democracies? The dominant theoretical paradigm used to explain changes in party competition in established democracies does not offer much leverage in emerging ones. The literature argues that linkages between voting blocs and parties erode and cleavages shift, allowing for new voter blocs or even new parties. However, if social groups, parties, and party systems are different in emerging democracies than in established ones, does this mean the dynamics of party competition are also different? Also, what is the role of voters in these systems? My dissertation outlines a theory for how changes in competition occur. Over time, voters form partisan attachments to parties based upon what parties say and do. Using extensive fieldwork my dissertation maps the broad contours of clientelism in Malaysia. I demonstrate that clientelism, as part of the party brand, has been a significant part of the electoral strategy for Malaysia's longstanding dominant coalition. Nonetheless, in recent years programmatic platforms of opposition parties have become more popular, culminating in a substantial decline of Malaysia's longstanding ruling coalition in the 2018 elections. This finding challenges much of the existing literature, which treats Malaysia as a case where ethnic political parties are the driving force behind electoral politics. However, in failing to account for clientelism and the way it is changing, this literature misses a major factor driving party competition. This has broad implications for democracy in Malaysia.

PREFACE

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
PREFACE	vi
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Existing Explanations	4
1.2 A Brief Overview of the Theory	10
1.3 The Nature of Clientelism	12
1.4 Clientelism and Economic Development	13
1.5 Clientelism and Party Competition	15
1.6 Measuring Clientelism	18
1.7 An Outline of This Project	21

CHAPTER 2	COMPETITIVE PARTY SYSTEMS: A THEORY OF PARTISAN ATTACHMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA	26
2.1	Introduction	26
2.2	Social Cleavages in New Democracies	30
2.3	Problems With a Cleavage-Based Theory of Party Competition . . .	36
2.4	A Theory of Partisan Attachment and Party Competition	42
2.5	Partisan Realignment and the Implications for Competition	57
2.6	Instances of Partisanship and Clientelism in Malaysia	58
CHAPTER 3	VOTE BUYING AND PARTY COMPETITION: CLIENTELISM IN MALAYSIA	65
3.1	Introduction	65
3.2	Who Do Parties Target?	68
3.3	Electoral Politics in Malaysia	72
3.4	Non-Clients and the Middle-Class	80
3.5	A List Experiment in Malaysia	87
3.6	List Experiment Results and Analysis	89
3.7	Discussion	99
CHAPTER 4	THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF MALAYSIA'S BR1M POL- ICY: PARTY BRANDS AND PARTY COMPETITION	102
4.1	Introduction	102
4.2	Redistribution and Party Competition	105
4.3	Cash Transfer Programs and Party Competition	107

4.4	Party Brands	109
4.5	How Attachment Erodes	114
4.6	BR1M Policy	116
4.7	Variables, Data, and Methods	123
4.8	Analysis	128
4.9	Discussion	132
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION		135
BIBLIOGRAPHY		142
APPENDIX A MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER 4		175
APPENDIX B MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER 5		188

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Social Cleavages in Southeast Asia: 1946 to 2016	38
Table 2.2	Ownership of Share Capital of Limited Companies: 1969 to 2006 (Percent)	60
Table 3.1	Summary Values for List Experiment Data	90
Table 3.2	Difference in Means Test for Sensitive Item	91
Table 3.3	Difference of Means Between Treatment and Control Groups . . .	95
Table 3.4	Maximum Likelihood Estimator: Unconstrained Model	96
Table 3.5	Maximum Likelihood Estimator: Constrained Model	97
Table 4.1	Total BR1M Handouts in Millions and Total Amount Spent in Ringgit: 2012 to 2014	119
Table 4.2	Total BR1M Handouts in Millions and Total Amount Spent in Ringgit: 2015 to 2017	119
Table 4.3	Summary Statistics for the Posterior Distribution: 2013 Election .	126
Table 4.4	Summary Statistics for the Posterior Distribution: 2018 Election .	126
Table 4.5	2013 Model Statistical Outcomes	129
Table 4.6	2018 Model Statistical Outcomes	129
Table A.1a	Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 1	184
Table A.1b	Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 2	185

Table A.1c Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 3	186
Table A.1d Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 4	187
Table B.1 Change in Number of Seats in the 2013 Election	188
Table B.2 Change in Number of Seats in the 2018 Election	189
Table B.3 Urbanization and Malay Population by State	189
Table B.4 Bayesian Model Averaging Output	190
Table B.5 Frequentist Linear Regression Model for the 2013 Election	192
Table B.6 Frequentist Linear Regression Model for the 2018 Election	193

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Mean of V-Dem Vote Buying Measurement Compared to Malaysia	20
Figure 2.1	A Sequential Theory of Party Competition	43
Figure 2.2	Barisan Nasional Vote Share: 1974 to 2018	59
Figure 4.1	Handouts by Level of Urbanization in 2012	121
Figure 4.2	Handouts by Level of Urbanization in 2017	121
Figure 4.3	Handouts by Number of Malays in 2012	121
Figure 4.4	Handouts by Number of Malays in 2017	121
Figure 4.5	Distribution of BR1M by State in 2012 and 2017	125
Figure 4.6	Posterior Distribution for the 2013 Election with 95% Credible Intervals	130
Figure 4.7	Posterior Distribution for the 2018 Election with 95% Credible Intervals	131
Figure A.1	Dewan Rakyat Results 2004	175
Figure A.2	Dewan Rakyat Results 2008	176
Figure A.3	Dewan Rakyat Results 2013	176
Figure A.4	Dewan Rakyat Results 2018	177
Figure B.1	Pooled Model Posterior Distribution	191

Figure B.2	Convergence Diagnostics for the 2013 Model	194
Figure B.3	Convergence Diagnostics for the 2018 Model	195
Figure B.4	Predicted Probabilities for the 13th General Election with 90% Confidence Intervals	196
Figure B.5	Predicted Probabilities for the 14th General Election with 90% Confidence Intervals	197

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Seymour Lipset (1963, 220) made the observation that “in every modern democracy conflict among different groups is expressed through political parties.” Formally speaking, “what might be seen as a fairly simple and straightforward process, the translation of social conflict into political and party alternatives, turns out to be quite fraught and complex” (Mair 2006b, 372). More on this point, political parties exist because divisive interests in society also exist (Neumann 1956). Which subsequently makes for a messy political space, with consistent fluctuations between stability and instability within the party system. While the dynamic nature of these fluctuations has occupied the minds of political scientists for decades, and likewise, is the focal point of this paper; the function of party competition – in both old and new democracies – remain unanswered. This dissertation will try to address these questions.

Imagine a situation where a voter faces the following choices; they can support the incumbent party and receive payments in the form of employment, food, subsidized housing, or additional income. Or they could support the opposition, and receive none of these benefits. Unless a voter does not need such benefits, and is indifferent to what the party is offering; their rational action is to support the incumbent party, even if they must do so reluctantly. If enough voters face similar situations, the incumbent party is likely to win the election.

Mexico was ruled by the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) for seventy-one

years, and these types of clientelistic relationships were a significant aspect of their rule (Magaloni 2006). Such exchanges were based, first, upon a monopoly over political and financial resources, and second, on the ability of the PRI to screen supporters from opponents, and subsequently form patron-client relationships with these supporters. If the supporters were to defect, they would be excluded from the stream of benefits dictated by the party.

The PRI was able to identify voters at an individual level, screen loyal supporters from opponents, and invest in those voters that were most likely to support them. To do so, they controlled a well-established organizational network of party brokers to target and transfer goods to constituents. They employed everyone from party bosses, and labor unions, to schoolteachers. The transfers of private goods from the party to loyal voters was substantial in both quantity and diversity of goods. The network was used to transfer everything from cash payments, and food subsidies, to land and water rights (Camp 1999).

Indeed, the PRI did not coerce voters into supporting the incumbent party. This was unnecessary. In rural areas often times there did not exist a choice between parties. The PRI was the only party on the ballot, and certainly poor voters' 'sincere' choice was the PRI, even if this choice was constrained (Magaloni, Diaz-Cayeros & Estévez 2007). The party could buy votes, and subsequently use their dense network of party organizations to monitor the behavior of its clients in rural areas. Even in the face of minor opposition, the PRI would simply threaten to suspend or revoke transfers. This would sufficiently deter voters from supporting the opposition.

However, urban areas were a different matter. Beginning in the 1950s, political opposition to the PRI had an important role in larger and wealthier localities. Mexico City for example, was the earliest center for political opposition (Ames 1970, Klesner 1994, Magaloni, Diaz-Cayeros & Estévez 2007). The PRI enjoyed a significant amount

of support in Mexico City from working-class constituents, particularly those affiliated with party and labor unions. Although even unskilled labor, for example taxi cab drivers and coffee vendors supported the PRI. To these groups, the PRI offered everything from property titles, and food and housing subsidies, to work opportunities (Joseph & Henderson 2002).

The debt crisis in 1982 forced the PRI to institute a number of severe austerity programs, no matter the political cost. Soon after, they started losing support from working-class voters in Mexico City. Even organized labor, who was up until that point was an unconditional supporter of the party, started shifting towards the opposition. By the 1988 presidential elections, both working-class and middle-class supporters defected to the opposition in Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and the National Democratic Front. Even though the political opposition lost the election, this was the beginning of the end to the PRI's rule.

The PRI came in thinking they had a brilliant rescue plan. They make the argument that the classic system of clientelistic networks, brokers, and intermediaries, etc all worked well to shore up regime support. But clientelism is inherently inefficient and cumbersome, and entirely too costly for the current climate of austerity. They had to find a way to gain the same support for less money. The party's neoliberal agenda, with its slim state, clashed with the traditionally expensive mechanisms of clientelism. The party hoped that more efficient social programs would deliver the same degree of loyalty at much lower cost.

For awhile it did, as long as they could sell the "first worldization" narrative to the population, as the middle-class wanted a quality of life similar to that of the developed world. But gradually the reduction of the state, privatization, withdrawal of the parastatals, all of that gradually chipped away at regime support. Because the party loyalists were no longer receiving benefits from the party, the network collapsed,

and many of the party brokers became dissidents or left the party. Eventually the PRI lost support of both working-class and middle-class voters, first in Mexico City, and later in rural areas. Mexico soon shifted from a dominant-party system to a legitimate multi-party system.

What factors explain changes in party competition in developing democracies?¹ The dominant theoretical paradigm used to explain changes in party competition in established democracies does not offer much leverage in emerging ones. If social groups, parties, and party systems are different in emerging democracies than in established ones, does this mean the dynamics of party competition is also different? Also, what does this mean for voters in these systems? Answers to such questions have serious implications for the quality of democratic governance. In answering this question, much of the relevant literature traditionally concerns itself with the Lipset-Rokkan (1967) theory of social cleavages.²

1.1 EXISTING EXPLANATIONS

Shifts in voter preferences and subsequent party identification occur within the electorate, because of a disjuncture between the party-in-the-electorate and the party-in-government. This disjuncture is created through the development of divisive

¹I use the phrases “developing democracy” “new democracy” “emerging democracy” or “industrializing democracy” interchangeably. By this I mean states where democracy is present, but not completely established. The definition I use is similar to that of Levitsky and Way, (2010, 5) where semi-democratic systems are defined as “regimes in which formal democratic institutions exist and are widely viewed as the primary means of gaining power, but in which incumbents’ abuse of the state places them at a significant advantage vis-à-vis their opponents. Such regimes are competitive, in that opposition parties use democratic institutions to contest seriously for power, but they are not democratic because the playing field is heavily skewed in favor of incumbents. Competition is thus real but unfair.” There is likely a necessary economic dimension to this, to exclude wealthy mature democracies, for example the United States or Western Europe.

²Important to note, Lipset and Rokkan are discussing changes in the party system itself. As Mair (1997) argues, changes in competition define the very nature of the party system. Thus, in my mind, there is little difference between the two.

and salient issues within society; for example slavery during 19th century American politics, nationalism immediately before the 1918 Irish elections, or the recent Scottish independence movement in the United Kingdom. Issues that redefine conflict in society – changing both linkages between social groups and parties – as well as existing and stable cleavage structures. The role of both the formation of cleavages and their restructuring is essential to the study of political parties.

Cleavage structures, initially defined by (Lipset & Rokkan 1967) developed out of complex historical processes stemming from two separate – national and industrial – revolutions.³ These resulting cleavages “produced stable patterns of group-based political conflict, expressed through modern party systems” (Brooks, Nieuwbeerta & Manza 2006, 89). Once established, they provide a durable ‘frozen’ foundation for political conflict through electoral behavior (Lipset & Rokkan 1967, Rose 1974, Bartolini & Mair 1990, Brooks, Nieuwbeerta & Manza 2006, 50). For example, both Lipset & Rokkan (1967, 50) and Deschouwer (2001, 205) assert, “the party systems of the 1960s reflect, with few but significant exceptions, the cleavage structure of the 1920s.” Cleavages then ‘unfreeze’ within the electorate; creating shifts in voter blocs based upon formation of new connections between groups and parties, subsequently party system change occurs. What then, makes up a cleavage?

Cleavages are defined by a social reality. Within this reality, they have three essential and defining characteristics (Bartolini & Mair 1990, Bartolini 2000, Bartolini 2005a, Mair 2006b, Deegan-Krause 2006, Deegan-Krause 2007). 1) A social division that distinguishes one group from another on the basis of critical social-structural characteristic, for example class, religion, or ethnicity. 2) There must be an established collective identity. Whatever group the cleavage is centered upon, must be aware of

³They can originally be separated into four distinct categories, center-periphery; state-church; owner-worker; and land-industry.

its collective interest. For example, women, Catholics, or factory workers must be aware of their shared identity. Finally, 3) there must be an organization that is rooted within the cleavage. Whether it is a political party, labor union, or church, there must be some representative body attached to that reality.

The durability of cleavages in society is important to note here. They are deep structural divides that persist over a significant period of time. Why is this so? As Mair (2006b) argues, first and foremost, the interests and groups involved remain significant. Second, because alternatives to the existing identities are only to be mobilized with sufficiently large blocs of voters, “and this ended with universal suffrage” (374). Third, the electoral rules that make up the existing system tend to favor the existing parties, and cleavages that created those parties. Fourth, because the parties that are attached to these cleavages, want to remain in power, therefore they control sources of political conflict. However, this is not to say that existing cleavages do not decline. In fact, when cleavages based upon historical antagonisms within society eventually erode, and new linkages are formed, they do so in an eruptive process. Indeed, if party system change is to be understood, this erosion of existing cleavages in society is critical.

As others (Stanley & Nieme 1993, Manza & Brooks 1999, Heath, Jowell & Curtice 2001) have noted, the magnitude and saliency of cleavage structures, whether they are economic, political, or cultural, changes both between countries and within them over time. (Lipset & Rokkan 1967, 6) note this themselves when they state the following:

There is a hierarchy of cleavage bases in each system and these orders of political primacy not only vary among polities, but also tend to undergo changes over time. Such differences and changes in the political weight of socio-cultural cleavages set fundamental problems for comparative research.

While old linkages between social groups and parties may decline, new and salient issues lead to the formation of new linkages. Certainly it seems tautological, that as

older cleavages decline, newer ones take their place. It is nonetheless necessary to our discussion. Generally speaking, these shifts occur in one of two ways, either the partisan alignments of particular groups changes or the relative sizes of groups change (Brooks, Nieuwbeerta & Manza 2006). Martin (2000, 422 - 427) and Bornschier (2009, 5) both give more detailed explanations.

(1) The most fundamental forces of politics lie in the long-term evolution of social structure, the primary focus of cleavage-theory. Here, the focus is on those critical junctures, such as the national and industrial revolutions, which heavily influenced political development in a path- dependent function. Following Allardt (1968) and Kriesi (1999), it can be argued that the educational revolution of the 1960s and 1970s has constituted a further critical juncture. Furthermore, it has been claimed that the processes of globalization and Europeanization that have intensified since the 1980s and 1990s also constitute a critical juncture shaping party systems (Kriesi et al. 2006, Kriesi et al. 2008). In an inverse reading of the preconditions of cleavage formation outlined earlier on, Bartolini (2005b) has argued that the lowering of national boundaries in Europe does not necessarily lead to a new line of opposition, but to a de-structuring of the functional cleavages at the national level.

(2) These developments do not translate directly into new antagonisms within the party system due to the force of existing alignments and the freezing of party systems along historical divides (Clark, Lipset & Rempel 1993). The established parties will seek to avert the entry of new parties by responding to new potentials within the electorate, within the limits set by their historical position. The adaptation of the existing structure of conflicts to new political potentials is the central focus of the theory of political realignments, which is situated at an intermediate level of analysis. The weakening of prevailing alignments and the emergence of conflicts cutting across a prevailing cleavage makes electoral coalitions, united by virtue of this cleavage, break

apart and opens the way for the establishment of new links between social groups and political parties.

(3) The least abstract level of analysis focuses on everyday politics. Here, cyclical issues of minor importance, corruption scandals and the popularity or unpopularity of politicians and governments affect the results of elections. Even if such issues dominate everyday politics, these events rarely affect the two higher levels of political development. In order for voters to become available to the mobilization efforts of new actors, the links between social groups and parties on which the established structure of conflict is based must have weakened (Bornschiefer 2009, 6). This raises important questions as to the continuing relevance of cleavage structures within party system change. While the Lipset-Rokkan cleavage framework has been the dominant paradigm for changes in the party system, it is not universally accepted.

There have been numerous people who have argued that cleavage structures have declined, and social position no longer determines political alignment. More specifically, voters are making decisions within the electorate, independent of their identity (Dogan 1995, Dalton 1996, Pakulski & Waters 1996). Although numerous scholars likewise argue that the decline of cleavage structures is considerably over-rated, particularly class, (Weakliem & Heath 1994, Weakliem & Heath 1999, Evans & Whitefield 1999, Goldthorpe 2001) religion, (Manza & Brooks 1999, Knutsen 2004, Thomassen 2005, Lachat 2007) and gender (Huber & Stephens 2000). This body of work uses more contemporary theoretical understandings of class, gender, and ethnicity, and suggests that electoral patterns are consistent with typical cleavages. That said there is one significant issue with the Lipset-Rokkan model that must be taken into consideration.

While their influential work has been extended and developed to consider contemporary party systems. They argue that salient cleavages in society create linkages

between voters and parties, forming a stable party system. Eventually, the linkages between voting blocs and parties erode and cleavages shift, allowing for new voter blocs or even new parties. The formation of such cleavages is critical to the stable function of party systems. However, the application thus far has largely only examined Western European democracies. What does this mean for the study of less advanced democracies?

The work thus far has predominantly been used to study party systems in Western European polities, particularly Nordic party systems. As Van Biezen & Caramani (2007, 7 - 8) argue, “The concept of cleavage is the product of a very specific transformation that took place in Western Europe exclusively.” Party systems in much of Latin America and Africa are products of colonial legacies, which have long-lasting differences from those found in Western Europe. Similarly, in much of the world, the addition of universal suffrage did not coincide with the development of a working class as it did in Europe.

Salient cleavages in new democracies have substantially different historical developments than those of Western Europe. For example, colonialism had a profound impact on society formation in nascent democracies. The roles of ethnicity, religion, and class also have different historical evolutions. In part due to significant urbanization, social class is extremely important throughout much of Latin America. Furthermore, in most Latin American polities, the Roman Catholic Church played a dominant role in cleavage structures’ development (Scarritt 2006).

The opposite is true of African politics, where parties are defined, less by class and religion, and more by ethnicity (Manning 2005). In addition to a dissimilar evolution of cleavages, both parties and party systems in new democracies should be considered empirically different from Western European democracies. If cleavage structures, parties, and party systems are different in developing democracies, it seems intuitive

that party competition will also be different.

This brings up important questions of representation. Given that shifts in party competition is different in consolidating democracies, what does this mean for relationships between voters and parties? This is a difficult question to answer. Certainly cleavages exist, and do matter in developing democracies. However, it is important to point out that clientelism “is a pervasive feature of parties in the developing world...” (Randall 2006, 15). Taking this one step further, Pattison (speaking in a European framework) argues that clientelism is incompatible with contemporary understandings of representation (Piattoni 2001). Because of this, the role of clientelism in consolidating democracies is important to consider.

Take Southeast Asia for example. Social cleavages absolutely exist, and certainly shape identity that forms political behavior. Ethnicity is a critical factor in identity in Southeast Asia. For example, Indonesia alone has 300 distinct ethnic groups. The Philippines has over 175. In fact, ethnic politics is typically the driver behind elections in Malaysia. Class and labor divisions between urban Manila and rural parts of the Philippines are important aspects of partisan attitudes. Nonetheless, parties in Southeast Asia are considered less programmatic and more clientelistic and personalistic. This suggests that Lipset and Rokkan’s work may have less to say about newer party systems than old ones. It also makes clientelism and the role it plays in competition between parties important. Keeping this in mind, I offer an alternative.

1.2 A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE THEORY

Similar to social cleavages, clientelism acts as a mechanism for changes in the party system. As wealth increases, a growing middle-class is more difficult to mobilize using clientelistic practices. For example, instead of money or food, they may want better

healthcare, university scholarships for their children, or no clientelism at all. Moreover, because clientelism is inefficient and parties have limited resources, it is difficult for the party to successfully mobilize both the lower and middle classes simultaneously. Changes in competition occur in this manner, when relationships between the voter and the party breaks down and voters support an opposition party. So why does the breakdown between parties and voters occur in the first place?

Political attachments are similar to social group attachments. Political parties develop party brands, (or platforms) and voters attach themselves to them based upon how closely they fit with one party relative to another. It is a matter of comparative fit with the brand itself. When the brand strengthens or weakens, the attachment of the voter strengthens or weakens along with it. If a party brand is strong, partisan voters are more likely to overlook issues with the party, for example bad performance or some kind of social strife. However, if the party brand is weak, attachment will also be weak, and voters are going to be less forgiving. Party competition changes, therefore, when two conditions are met: 1) the party's brand weakens, partisan attachment along with it, and 2) some kind of social issue (e.g. bad performance on the part of the party, an economic decline, or political scandal) occurs. How does clientelism fit within this framework?

Given that clientelism is a dominant strategy for mobilizing voters, a strong assumption can be made for clientelism acting as a party brand. When a party decides to opt out of patron-client relationships and shift to a programmatic platform, or voters do not identify as clients, or the party sends mixed signals, the party brand weakens or dilutes. As the brand becomes more ambiguous, the weaker the partisan attachment is, and the less competitive the party eventually becomes. These votes, however, do not disappear. The voter decides their political identity fits better with a different party brand, for example, one that is more or less clientelistic.

1.3 THE NATURE OF CLIENTELISM

The literature on clientelism can be broken into three general approaches (Roniger 2004, Hicken 2011). The first approach, was largely descriptive in nature. It focused on conceptualizations of clientelism, using singular case studies (Gellner, Waterbury & Silverman 1977, Land 1977, Schmidt, Guasti, Landé & Scott 1977, Eisenstadt & Lemarchand 1981). Much of this work argued unsuccessfully that clientelism would decline once countries develop both economically and democratically. They failed to understand the evolving dynamics of patron-client relationships. Scholars mistakenly viewed the relationship between clientelism and development as deterministic.

The second phase of the literature focused on the shifting circumstances, along with ambiguous relationships between voters and patrons. This work focused on clientelism as a type of social and political exchange. A specific political strategy for parties to obtain power (Chubb 1982, Eisenstadt & Roniger 1984, Kettering 1986, Reynolds 1988, Roniger 2004, Hicken 2011). It examined clientelism across different types of political systems and cultures, both historically and contemporarily. Important to note, this literature shifted from looking at clientelism as a dyadic relationship, to clientelism existing in a dense organizational network attached to a political institution, for example a party or labor union (Clapham 1982, Mavrogordatos 1983). This second phase is likewise notable for shifting from modernization/development theories of clientelism, to those emphasizing political institutions as key explanatory variables (Hicken 2011).

Stemming from this rich strand of research, contemporary scholarship investigating clientelism looks to develop generalizable theories that explain the dynamics of clientelistic relationships. This newest phase of research attempts to develop an understanding of the causal mechanisms that influence the evolution of relationships

between voters and party machines (Nichter 2008, Stokes, Dunning, Nazareno & Brusco 2013, Hicken, Leider, Ravanilla & Yang 2014, Szwarcberg 2015). This new research particularly looks to understand what type of voter a party will target - most often they are the poorest of voters - and how this relationship exists (and even flourishes) in a semi-democratic system.

Certainly “the most common association drawn in the clientelism literature is between the level of economic development and the prevalence of clientelism” (Hicken 2011, 299). While the connection between economic development and clientelism is fairly well established, (Wantchekon 2003, Keefer 2006, Calvo & Murillo 2004, Remmer 2007) yet the causal mechanisms at work have yet to be agreed upon.⁴ The literature can be divided into two separate perspectives. The first group emphasizes the effect of development on the clients’ *value* of a clientelistic relationship, versus programmatic alternatives. The second group emphasizes the effect of development on the patrons’ *capacity* to provide clientelist benefits (Hicken 2011, 299).

1.4 CLIENTELISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Development can effect a voter’s opinion of the value of a patron-clientelist relationship in several ways. As income increases, the marginal return on a payment for one’s vote decreases.⁵ As income increases, voter preferences concerning the type of benefit also changes (Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007). Voters become concerned with tax rates and interest rates. Subsequently, the opportunity costs for supporting a party that only supplies a clientelist benefit increases, relative to the party that offers a broader range

⁴For opposing views to this argument, see Schaffer (2004).

⁵This is why patrons target poor voters, they get a better return for their dollar (Dixit & Londregan 1996, Calvo & Murillo 2004). In addition, poor voters are more risk averse than their wealthier counterparts, and thus, the benefits of clientelism are more appealing.

of collective goods and services. Wealthier voters have longer time horizons, and are willing to support a party based on the promise of a future policy benefit, opposed to an immediate concrete economic benefit.⁶

Development influences a patrons' ability to provide clientelist benefits in a number of ways. As income increases, the cost of clientelism also increases, and the benefits decline. This ultimately makes more programmatic mobilization strategies more appealing. First, development allows for greater voter mobility (Nielson & Shugart 1999, Bloom, Craig & Malaney 2001, Kitschelt 2000). As voter mobility increases, clientelist networks become difficult to develop, monitor, and use to transfer payments. Second as incomes rise, resources become difficult or expensive to obtain. If a party has unlimited access to resources, they can easily keep up with economic growth in the population. However due to the realities of politics, this is often not the case, and politicians often find clientelism to be less useful over time. Finally, there are defined social costs to clientelism. As incomes increase, the negative externalities to clientelism manifest themselves more clearly. For example, as the middle-class develops, the discontent with perceived corruption also increases (Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007, Singer 2009). This might compel parties to switch to both a more cost effective, and socially acceptable method of voter mobilization.

While there has been a wealth of recent academic work on the topic of clientelism, there are several questions that remain. At what point does clientelism end and programmatic parties emerge? When clientelism declines, what effect does this have on the fundamental institutions in democratic government? Likewise, greater investigation into the mechanism that connects economic growth and clientelism is required. Finally, what does this mean for party competition? Contemporary

⁶Lyne (2007) argues that even middle-class voters should prefer immediate benefits through clientelism opposed to collective goods in the future.

scholarship involving clientelism has failed to link changes in clientelistic relationships between parties and voters, to critical institutions in democratic systems (e.g. party systems). Yet these questions lack sufficient answers. This project will illuminate answers to these questions, further bridging the divide between comparative politics literature on clientelism and that of literature on competitive political parties.

Social science literature argues that clientelism is the opposite of what is typically considered good governance. It sacrifices long-term legitimate democratic institutions for unequal relationships between citizens and representatives. These relationships undermine voter autonomy and participation, creating classes of citizens based on the monetary value of their votes (Stokes et al. 2013). This lack of equality in the democratic process deprives citizens of effective participation in the collective decision-making process. Because of this, voters look at electoral processes with suspicion, and as a result, the quality of party competition within the democracy in question is likely to suffer immensely.

1.5 CLIENTELISM AND PARTY COMPETITION

Some scholars argue that electoral institutions can, at times, encourage patron-client relationships (Hicken 2007, Kitschelt 2000). However, most scholars also argue that electoral competition acts as a check against clientelistic activity (Geddes 1991, Hicken 2011). For example, an increase in competition between political parties forces representatives to “professionalize the bureaucracy“ (Hicken 2011, 297).⁷ Meanwhile, Keefer (2006, 2007) argues that once a programmatic party takes office, this compels other parties to opt out of clientelism. This suggests that party competition reduces clientelism, presumably by either a) raising relative the costs of clientelism or b)

⁷See also (Grzymala-Busse 2007, Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007)

increasing the risk of clientelism strategies.⁸

Nonetheless, there are some important contributions to the literature that suggest otherwise (Kopecký 2011, Gottlieb & Kosec 2017). For example, Epstein (2009) argues that while parties use clientelism to mobilize voters, clientelism also stifles both party development and competition, wherein parties use clientelism to hold an undemocratic monopoly at local levels of government. Moreover, some scholars argue that robust party competition acts as a double edged sword. For example Levitsky (Levitsky 2007) argues that competition creates opportunity for labor-based parties in Latin America to transform themselves into clientelistic parties. Meanwhile in Ghana, Lindberg & Morrison (2008) argues that a more competitive election results in greater percentage of reported clientelism. Thus, if clientelism is already used to mobilize voters, it seems intuitive that clientelistic political parties facing increasing competition from other parties might attempt to simply further rely on what has worked for them in the past. Who then do clientelistic parties target in the face of increasing political competition, and more importantly, is this effective?

Generally speaking, the empirical evidence for whether parties target core or swing voters with clientelistic appeals is mixed. A variety of studies have found that clientelist parties target marginal or swing voters (Schady 2000, Stokes 2005, Magaloni 2006). But others find that parties consistently direct benefits to their core supporters (Hiskey 1999, Dunning & Stokes 2010). Obviously parties use both strategies to mobilize voters, although, the combination of the two is less clear. Regardless of

⁸Competitiveness is defined and operationalized in a number of ways in the literature—including party-system fragmentation, electoral volatility, margin of victory, and party turnover in government. Kitschelt & Wilkinson (2007, 28) boil down the indicators of party-system competitiveness to the following: “when citizens and politicians have strong incentives to try hard and win supporters at the for one or the other partisan camp.” Under these circumstances, two conditions must be met: (a) elections are close between identifiable and distinct rival party blocs, and (b) the number of uncommitted (swing) voters is large enough to potentially tip the outcome of the elections toward one party bloc or the other (Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007, 28).

whether the response to political competition and electoral uncertainty is the attempt to mobilize core supporters or swing voters, it is clear that when facing this competition, parties cannot rely on loyal supporters alone to maintain or extend power.

The exact mix of clientelistic or programmatic strategies that politicians use to mobilize such voters depends on two factors: the appeal to swing voters, and the level of political development. The more party competition forces politicians to appeal to indifferent voters outside of their support base, the more costly it becomes to use clientelism (Hicken 2011, 298). The necessary payment to sway an indifferent voter is likely to be higher than what is needed to mobilize loyal supporters. Moreover, the risk that marginal voters will fail to uphold their end of the clientelist bargain is also considerably higher. Therefore, when using clientelist strategies, the return on a party's investment is far lower when swing voters need to be targeted, the incentive to pursue programmatic strategies should increase with the need to appeal to indifferent voters (Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007).

There has been some evidence to support the assumption that parties act differently when in office. For example, Desposato (2007) argues that at least at the sub-national level in Brazil, clientelist parties will behave differently in the legislature than programmatic parties. Indeed, a critical factor in whether political parties favor a clientelist redistribution of goods or a programmatic one, is a matter of access to resources. As Schaffer (2007) argues, for those parties that have been excluded from power ("externally mobilized parties" using Schaffer's terminology) the use of clientelist strategies is simply not a viable option. They do not have the resources, and subsequently rely upon a programmatic platform. Once these parties gain power, the use of clientelism declines and party competition proceeds along programmatic means

(Piattoni 2001).⁹ As a starting point, this project uses Schaffer’s (2007) assumptions to test causal relationships between clientelism, economic inequality, and political competition in the developing world. However, measuring clientelism can be quite difficult.

1.6 MEASURING CLIENTELISM

Clientelism is difficult to measure, especially over time in a cross-national comparison. In the past scholars have attempted to use a proxy to measure the influence of party competition on clientelism. The problem with this lies in the informal nature of clientelism. Clientelism is a personal relationship between two actors, based upon a collection of unwritten rules. Therefore, some aspects may be observable, but clientelism in the aggregate is not. Proxies are variables that substitute variables which cannot be easily or directly measured, may not be valid or reliable, or simply not measured. Clientelism is such a variable.

The first example of the use of a proxy for clientelism is Philip Manow (2002, 2006) constructed an index to measure clientelism in 23 Western Democracies. Certainly, including aspects of questions like “the misuse of public power for private benefits” or “improper practices in the public sphere” are very near to patronage. However, there are significant methodological problems, primarily in that he uses corruption as a key aspect of the measurement. Substituting an informal and difficult to observe variable with another informal and difficult to observe variable is more than likely going to yield inaccurate and untrustworthy results.

Keefer (2007) argues that young democracies are going to be less credible and focus on rent-seeking instead of the provision of public goods. In order to grasp clientelism,

⁹Response to Schaffer’s theory is mixed. His theory cannot account of the decline of clientelism in the United States or United Kingdom. For a more in-depth critique, see (Keefer 2006).

he creates a measure based upon several proxies: a) corruption, measured by the corruption indicator by Political Risk Service's International Country Risk Guide, a professional business information provider for international investment; b) rule of law, measured by Political Risk Service's International Country Risk Guide, too; c) the quality of bureaucracy, also measured by Political Risk Service's International Country Risk Guide; d) gross secondary school enrollment, with data from World Development Indicators, taken as an indicator for providing public goods; e) the market share of government newspapers, according to a special dataset; f) the government wage bill as a fraction of GDP; and finally g) public investment, the two latter according to governmental statistics. While this is sophisticated, there are several problems with it. Certainly bureaucracy plays a role in the pervasiveness of clientelism, however as Munro (2010) points out, what does either weak rule of law or school enrollments have to do with clientelism? In sum, as de Sousa (2008) states, Keefer's "exercise raises more questions than answers"

There have been other attempts to create proxies for clientelism (Gordin 2002, Grzymala-Busse 2003, O'Dwyer 2004, Indridason 2006, Arriola 2009). However, these all share the same problems. It is the general problem of proxy measures. Even if a measure such as corruption is not used, which is in no way easier to measure than clientelism, proxies all share the same problem with the respect to validity. They often times have very little to do with clientelism. Measurements of clientelism that do exist are either incomplete with significant amounts of missing data, or insufficient across time and space. This is with the exception of the V-Dem project.

The Varieties of Democracy project (V-Dem) uses country-year point estimates, aggregated from multiple codings submitted by country experts taking into account disagreement and measurement error. This is coded using an ordinal scale, and then converted into an interval variable through a measurement model. The measurement

fits not only the the conceptual definition of vote buying, *referring to the distribution of money or gifts to individuals in order to influence their decision to vote/not vote or whom to vote for*, but also offers a far stronger measure than a proxy would. It is a direct measure of vote buying instead of an approximation or substitute. Moreover, it also covers a period of time (1946 to 2016) sufficient for changes in party competition to occur. Below, in Figure 1.1, you see the mean of their vote buying measurement from 1974 to 2018 compared to the primary case for this dissertation, Malaysia.

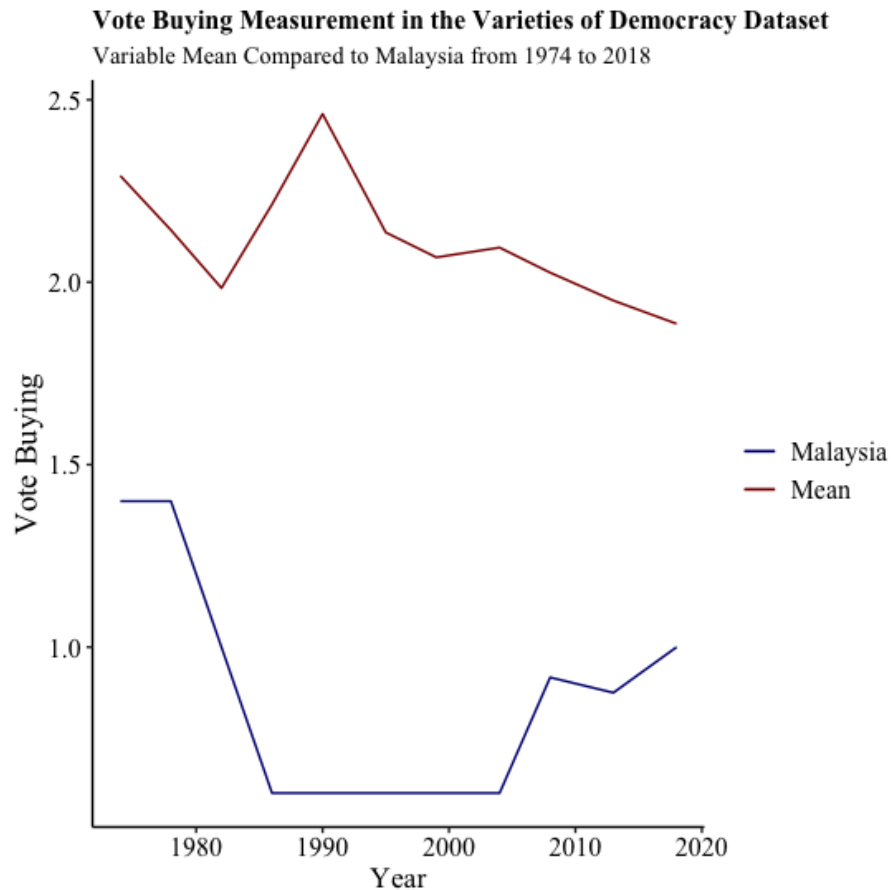


Figure 1.1: Mean of V-Dem Vote Buying Measurement Compared to Malaysia

However, there are problems with this. You can see that vote buying in Malaysia drops for much of the 1990s and spikes again in the early 2000s. There are a number

of arguments someone could make here. That clientelism declined when the Malaysian economy took off, rising again when the economy slowed down in the 2000s. Or that the BN had significant electoral success, throughout the 1990s and only returned to using clientelism and vote buying when they started to lose. One can see that vote buying in Malaysia is less than the mean for the entire dataset, so one might conclude that vote buying is less than a problem than other countries. Yet, this still fails to show how vote buying and clientelism are used as a mobilization strategy. It tells you nothing about how this relationship works between parties and voters, and its impact when things change. Only when you add context to the data can you understand the dynamics of clientelism.

1.7 AN OUTLINE OF THIS PROJECT

To test the implications of the theory, I use data collected over a twelve month period, primarily in Malaysia. I use a survey to investigate the role that vote buying, as an aspect of clientelism, plays in voter behavior. Finally, I delve into the relationship between voters that are also recipients of a cash transfer program, and party competition. While there are limitations particularly the reliance upon cross-sectional data, this project allows for significant insight into the behavior of poor, rural Malaysian voters. Indeed, the behavior of Malaysian voters, and the dynamics of pluralism in Malaysia is the crux of the project. Why is Malaysia important?

Until very recently, Malaysia had a uniquely different party system than other countries, even in Southeast Asia. On the surface you had a dominant party system where the ruling coalition had been in power for six decades. Beneath that exists a system where voting is centered around ethnicity. At this level you see legitimate competition between political parties over ethnic voting blocs. There is legitimate

party competition between UMNO, and PAS, as they vie for the Malay voting bloc. Or between the MCA and DAP for the Chinese vote in states like Penang. This puts Malaysia in a position to illuminate important questions surrounding party competition.

Like many countries in Southeast Asia, and the developing world, colonialism has shaped the political culture in Malaysia. The colonially constructed society in Malaysia and its pronounced emphasis on social divisions is a result of successful British manipulation and exploitation of ethnic, class, and religious cleavage structures. Much like British colonialism in East Africa (Mamdani 1996) and India (Cohn 1996) they used indirect rule and “divide and conquer” policies to categorize, bound, and control the vast social world in Malaya. For example the 1871 census, the vernacular education policy, the Malay Reservation Enactment of 1913 all transformed ethnic and religious divisions in Malaysia into official categories, ultimately defining Malaysian citizenship today.

UMNO and the Barisan Nasional, acting as the post-independence incumbent party, used these ethnic and religious categories to maintain and extend power. They relied upon a party brand of developmentalism combined with Malay nationalism, patron-clientelism, gerrymandering, and malapportionment to not only maximize votes, but to rule Malaysia with near impunity from independence in the late 1950s to their significant electoral losses in 2018. The centerpiece of this party brand is the National Economic Policy (NEP, 1971 – 1990) and its successor, the National Development Plan (NDP, 1991 – 2000). Both policies have had a clear economic, political, and social impact on Malaysia (Strauch 1981, Shamsul 1997, Loh 2001).

Throughout the 1970s Mahathir championed the idea that Malay entrepreneurship was the cornerstone of modernization, and offered the solution to Malay poverty and backwardness (Shamsul 2001). Within the framework on the NEP, UMNO

implemented for a number of economic policies that quickly accelerated the pathway to modernization for Malaysia, transforming it from an agrarian economy, to an industrialized one. One might say the Malaysian car, the Proton Saga, became a symbol of this transformation. With this Malaysia saw unprecedented economic growth, including the construction of the Petronas Twin Towers, the Kuala Lumpur International Airport, both Putrajaya and Cyberjaya projects, completion of the North-South highway, and launching of the MAESAT satellite.¹⁰ However, there were other consequences as well, and I argue that because of these consequences, Malaysian political culture is changing.

The NEP was largely a result of economic inequality between Malay and Chinese populations, culminating in the 1969 electoral riots. It was designed to lift Malays out of poverty.¹¹ However, the NEP also resulted in the development of a significant urban, Malay middle-class.¹² From 1970 to 1990, the Bumiputra participation in the professions and private sector increased. For example, the Bumiputra share of accountants doubled from 7% to 14%, engineers from 7 to 35 percent, doctors from 4%

¹⁰Development has been a part of Malaysian politics since the colonial era. From 1950 to 1955 the British created the Daft Development Plan, to contribute to post-World War II Malaysian reconstruction. Since then development planning in addition to five-year plans have been a staple of Malaysian economic programs, with eleven of them in all. The creation of these plans has become an important platform for bargaining over resources between ethnic groups.

¹¹Subsequently there are significant affirmative action policies hardwired into the plan. For example, Bumiputra quotas in ownership of public company stock, and housing being sold exclusively to Bumiputras. This results in criticism that the NEP is race-based and not deprivation-based. That instead of addressing income inequality, the NEP results in an institutionalized system of handouts for Malays

¹²Nonetheless, there is a growing faction that argues the race-based policies of the NEP should be abolished. Former Prime Minister Badawi, in a speech given to the 2004 UMNO General Assembly stated, "Let's not use the crutches for support all the time, the knee will become weak." The response was not entirely positive, as Badruddin Amiruldin responded by arguing, "no other race has the right to question our privileges, our religion and our leader" (Bolton 13 October 2007).

to 28%, and architects from 4% to 24% (Funston 2001).¹³. This new group of urban, middle-class voters hold differing perspectives than their rural brethren.¹⁴ Growth of this middle-class legitimizes a “new Malay” identity that shifts from the *kampung* (village) to the *bandaraya* (metropolis) (Shamsul 1996*b*, Shamsul 1996*a*, Shamsul 2001).

With this new identity comes a differing perspective on politics as well, bringing a new dimension to the communal politics that has traditionally ruled Malaysia. For example, in a 2008 poll implemented by the Merdeka Center, 65% of Malays agree with the statement that the Barisan Nasional’s “race-based affirmative action policy is obsolete and must be replaced with a merit-based policy”, compared with 83 percent of Chinese and 89 percent of Indian respondents. Certainly, the urban middle-class is typically the driving force behind reform, with much of this spurred by civil society.¹⁵ Malaysia is no exception in this regard, and a diverse set of interest groups developed in the 1970s, advocating for human rights, indigenous rights, and the environment.¹⁶

Beginning in the 1990s Anwar Ibrahim promoted the concept of *masyarakat madani* (civil society) rooted in *keadilan sosial* (social justice). He argued that Islam and

¹³Even still, as of 2007, Chinese Malaysians dominate the professions of accountants, architects and engineers while Indian Malaysians dominate the professions of veterinarians, doctors, lawyers and dentists well exceeding their respective population ratios compared to Bumiputra (Aziz 2012). Likewise, the Orang Asli of Peninsular Malaysia are not considered Bumiputra under the Federal Constitution despite their indigenous status, and remain marginalized and considerably worse off.

¹⁴According to the Malaysian Department of Statistics, the mean household income for the middle-class in Malaysia is 5,662 Ringgit. This of course has a different meaning for urban versus rural households. For example, a family of four in the Klang Valley with a mean household income of RM5,662 would likely be considered urban poor, or at least trend that way.

¹⁵To elaborate on this further, middle and business classes in Southeast Asia often emerge under conditions that foster dependence upon the state for resources. This results in civil societies in Southeast Asia are remarkably weaker than those in established democracies (Luebbert 1991, Eley 2002). Thus, social foundations for democracy in Southeast Asia are much different, generally lacking mass organizational support. A void that has largely been filled with middle-class led NGOs against the backdrop of close state-business relations where the poor are uninterested or disorganized, and authoritarian leaders have been replaced by elites (Rodan & Hughes 2014).

¹⁶In fact, Ng, Rangel, Viathilingam, and Pillay (2015) argue that urbanization is the impetus for changes in competition during the 2013 election.

social justice were not incompatible. This message spread through Malaysian civil society, taking a firm hold within the urban middle-class. Instead of cronyism and money politics, these voters advocated for transparent government and space for political expression. Meanwhile the Barisan Nasional started to fragment, and instead of adjusting their party brand to align with the views of middle-class Malays in Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh, they doubled-down on their existing one, poor voters. While the BN held onto power throughout the early 2000s in part due to gerrymandering and malapportionment, this brand eventually failed not just with the urban middle-class, but voters in rural areas too. Coupled with a successive number of political scandals, the political fortunes of the BN and more importantly, UMNO, declined during the 2018 elections.

CHAPTER 2

COMPETITIVE PARTY SYSTEMS: A THEORY OF PARTISAN ATTACHMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Competitive political parties is an essential facet of democracy, and has been a significant aspect of Comparative Politics as a subfield. Nonetheless, the nature of party competition has been one of the more puzzling features of democratic states after the Third Wave of democratization. For example, between 1978 and 2007, twenty-five percent of Latin America's established political parties have become uncompetitive for national office. With an average vote share of six percent, parties that once dominated electoral politics in Latin America, have lost considerable seats to both new parties and longstanding competitors alike (Lupu 2016). Furthermore, this trend holds in other regions of the world as well

How might we explain these dramatic shifts in party competition?¹ The classical explanation rests upon Lipset and Rokkan theory of cleavage-based party politics (Lipset & Rokkan 1967). Lipset and Rokkan in their classic text argue, that salient divisions in society, create linkages between voters and parties. While these divisions allow for the formation of a stable party system, eventually the linkages between voting

¹Such changes can often destabilize the party system, leading to significant fragmentation (Roberts 2014). While rare, it is also possible to see complete systemic breakdown (Morgan 2011, Seawright 2012).

blocs and parties erode, allowing for the formation of new cleavage structures, voter blocs, or even new parties, creating a new foundation for party competition. However, cleavage theory has largely only been examined in a framework of Western European democracies. Indeed, the foundational aspects of the Lipset-Rokkan paradigm are based upon long-standing historical developments in established democracies.²

While this interaction forms the underlying basis for party competition in mature democracies, “this same sequence of history does not apply to developing democracies” (Selway 2011, 11). When developing countries gained independence from colonial administrators during the post World War II era, the formation of political parties along with a national identity was much more difficult than that of Western Europe. In many cases, there was a lack of a national culture, forcing political elites to develop linkages with diverse ethnic groups within newly defined borders.³ Consequently, there is a gap in the literature.

Party systems in developing democracies should be considered far less stable than party systems in established democracies (Kreuzer & Pettai 2003, Mozaffar & Galaich 2003, Roberts & Wibbels 1999, Tavits 2005). Parties are weaker, and less connected to voters (Dalton & Weldon 2007, Mainwaring & Zoco 2007, Manning 2005).⁴ Both the existing parties and the system itself are, at times, considerably less insti-

²There are other explanations as well: corruption scandals, bad performance of incumbent parties, economic decline (Kenney 2004, Coppedge 2005). However, these too offer little leverage, incumbent parties that have long held a significant electoral advantage have survived significant economic crises. For instance Alan Garcia’s economic policies led to the worst hyperinflation in Peru’s history, yet his party (ARPA) won twenty-five percent of the vote in the following election (Lupu 2016). At the same time, dominant parties that have lost power due to corruption scandals have come back to win electors soon after, for instance the LDP in Japan.

³There is of course, some debate here. Tavits and Letki (2013) argues that as economic inequality increases, socio-economic cleavages deepen and become more salient. They argue that because of this, parties on the left have an incentive to shift voters away from interests to values, thereby increasing party competition.

⁴As Barnes et al (1985) notes, these issues resolve themselves as voters gain more experience with political parties.

tutionalized, and are much more prone to collapse than those systems with greater degrees of institutionalization (Dix 1992, Kuenzi & Lampbright 2001, Mainwaring & Scully 1995, Riedl 2008, Stockton 2001). What does this mean for the study of party systems in developing democracies?

This characterization is defined by party systems in developing democracies lacking the consecutive elections needed to develop strong inter-party competition. Furthermore, as Mainwaring & Zoco (2007) have shown the development of this competition is not automatic. This is not to say that we should reject cleavage theory outright, only that we must be careful in taking into account characteristics inherent to political parties in new democracies. More to this point, the Lipset-Rokkan paradigm does not fit seamlessly into a study of party systems and party competition in the developing world. As it does not adequately take into account the changing political attitudes of voters as part of these social divides.

I offer a competing explanation for changes in the competitiveness of a party system in emerging democracies. This alternative explanation is based upon Noam Lupu's (2009, 2016) theory of party branding and party breakdown.⁵ The theory is relatively simple. Over time, voters form partisan attachments to parties based upon what parties say and do.⁶ Attachments that are group identities, akin to the

⁵Lupu applies this narrowly to Latin America, while I extend it further to Southeast Asia. Regional emphasis aside, this work departs from Lupu in two significant ways. 1) It shifts the emphasis to overall party competition instead of individual party breakdown. Lupu argues that sudden shifts in partisanship result in otherwise established parties suddenly becoming less competitive. This opens the door to party system fragmentation. I argue that these voters do not disappear from the electorate, they find new parties to support, subsequently increasing competition. 2) I use clientelism as the party brand. Lupu argues that clientelism is not relevant to the party brand. That voters who sell votes still form partisan attachments to parties that are not based upon existing patron-client relationships. I disagree, and argue that a present patron-client relationship is part of the attachment. I further argue that such relationships are important up until a point where something else becomes more salient, i.e. government transparency.

⁶I use the term partisan loosely, to describe someone who supports a party, making no distinction between clientelistic and ideological support. The assumption is that partisanship reflects a voter's

attachments people form to social groups. These attachments are largely based upon perceptions of both their own political identity and to what extent the party represents this identity, relative to other parties (Green, Palmquist & Schickler 2004). The party forms a party platform around dimensions of this identity. This platform – or what a party stands for and what they use to connect to the voter – is the *party brand*.⁷ The more ambiguous the party brand, the weaker the partisan attachment is and the less competitive the party eventually becomes.⁸

Important to note, “the degree of identification also depends on comparative fit.” (Lupu 2016, 7). How closely a voter fits with one party versus another. This implies that parties can have a significant effect upon mass partisanship. Indeed, this is not dissimilar from Lipset and Rokkan’s (1967) seminal work. However, where Lipset and Rokkan show little interest in the strategic interaction of parties and voters, this theory emphasizes strategic shifts in partisan alignment as it relates to perceptions of the party over time. As the party brand becomes stronger or weaker, partisan attachment becomes stronger or weaker along with it. If a party brand is strong, partisan voters are more likely to overlook issues with the party, for example bad performance. However, if the party brand is weak, voters are going to be less forgiving. Party competition increases, therefore, when two conditions are met: 1) the party’s

social and political identity, relative to the party, and even a party hardliner has a non-zero probability of switching parties. Whether they shift because of ideological or clientelistic reasons is irrelevant.

⁷This is similar to a consumer brand.

⁸Once again, new democracies typically have high electoral volatility and weak partisanship (Freire 2006). It is therefore important to note the limitations of the theory. It is a theory of party competition in new democracies. It outlines a process of partisan attachment and reattachment. It does not address electoral volatility, where voters switch from party A to party B, and then back to party A. It does not outline a process for *stable* party competition, and in fact, mass partisan realignment will likely destabilize the party system. Finally, it is possible where an increase in party competition will lead to a fragmented party system, in which there is no clear legislative majority. However, this is true of any substantial increase in competition and in this case, fragmentation is not the expected outcome.

brand weakens, partisan attachment along with it, and 2) bad performance occurs. To illustrate this further, I use clientelism as a party brand.

Clientelism helped numerous parties maintain their local bases of support over decades. In fact, patronage has become the defining feature – or the *party brand* – of many political parties in the developing world. Along with this, there are millions of voters who identify as clients. However, when the party brand becomes diluted, in this case, there are several possibilities. On the supply side, perhaps parties are unable to offer resources, or some party members decide not to offer clientelistic benefits, then partisan attachment weakens. On the demand side, if voters suddenly do not identify as clients, or if they do identify as clients, perhaps they switch to a more clientelistic party, partisan attachment also weakens. This coupled with bad performance, for example a corruption scandal, or inefficient economic policies, you see an increase in party competition. This chapter will proceed in the following manner. I will first discuss social cleavages and why Lipset and Rokkan’s (1967) explanation does not fit with the realities of party competition. I will then illustrate the foundations of the theory, applying it to Malaysia.

2.2 SOCIAL CLEAVAGES IN NEW DEMOCRACIES

One finds by examining political history that competitive elections disrupt periods of stability in party identification and power. An important aspect of increasing party system competition is signified by a dramatic shift in political identification. The shift in voter preferences from one party to another. These ideological realignments have a long-term effect, generally, although not always, lasting several electoral cycles.⁹

⁹Key (1955, 16) defines such periods differently as, ‘a concept of critical elections has been developed to cover a type of election in which there occurs a sharp and durable electoral realignment between parties.’

This usually happens when electorate votes impact parties and subsequently party systems.¹⁰

Voters create party system change by identifying with new parties based upon responses to existing, clearly defined socio-economic or socio-political issues. For example, it can be due to a poor economic performance over a short period of time. Likewise, divisive ethnic, religious, or class-based tensions in society cause a shift in voter preferences. At times, it is due to a dramatic shift in voter demographics from one party to another. While many of these overlap in numerous ways - it is not absolutely required that systemic change be multi-dimensional – and therefore contingent upon combinations of social, economic, or political factors.

The social structures that define the relationship between voters and elites in emerging polities must be looked at much differently than in mature democracies. Agency plays a much different role. As Chibber & Torcal (1997) argue, party elites in new democracies have greater autonomy in making strategic choices. In this framework, how elites shape bottom-up political conflict in society determines the organization of cleavage structures. Moreover, when comparing the evolution of these structures across developing democracies, there is significant variation both between and within regions. The roles of class, ethnicity, and religion all have different historical developments in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

For example, consider the role of the working class in Latin America. In part due to significant urbanization, social class is historically, extremely important throughout much of Latin America. Collier & Collier's (2002) work presents the most ambitious

¹⁰It at times can fracture, or substantially change a party system. For example, during the Israeli presidential election in 1977 the Likud created a shift from a one-party dominant system to a two-party dominant system. During the Taiwan presidential election in 2000, the People First Party and the Taiwan Solidarity Union split from the KMT, with both parties taking 20.3% and 8.5% of the 2001 legislative election respectively.

work on the role of class and labor as a social cleavage in Latin America. Their work offers credibility into the application of the Lipset-Rokkan framework. Due to the slow development of universal suffrage, in Colombia, Uruguay, and Chile, all three have developed class-based cleavage structures similar to that of Western Europe. Moreover, in all three Latin American states, cleavage structures have frozen into place for much of the 20th century. (Dix 1989, Coppedge 1998). Particularly in the case of the Chilean party system, there is a very institutionalized party system, with a well-defined social basis.¹¹

In most Latin American polities, the Roman Catholic Church has also played a dominant role in the development of cleavage structures. Primarily as a result of colonial legacy, the church aligned closely with the state, completely suppressing entire indigenous populations. A development that caused ethnic groups in the case of Latin America to align vertically, or ‘ranked’ according to Horowitz (1985) opposed to across social stratification. This subsequently excluded numerous ethnic groups from political processes. With the recent exception of the MNR in Bolivia, such exclusion has largely resulted in religion developing as a base for party support, and not ethnicity (Van Cott 2000, Randall 2006). However, this has had the opposite effect in much of Africa.

African party politics are defined, less by class and religion, and more so by ethnicity. As Ottaway (1999, 311) argues, there is an “overt or covert ethnic character of the majority of the emerging political parties.” Indeed, it is clear that ethnicity shapes electoral behavior over consecutive elections at the executive and legislative levels

¹¹There is a clearly defined contrast between the Brazilian and Chilean cases. Brazil has a poorly institutionalized party system, where universal suffrage developed rapidly, and clientelistic practices still characterize party politics. Although one could argue, this offers further support for the hypothesis that the development of salient cleavage structures is highly dependent upon timing and magnitude of suffrage within social groups.

(Nugent 2001). This is despite both legislation and constitutional design prohibiting the formation of ethnic political parties in states like Tanzania, Ghana, and Cameroon. While there are questions as to whether or not cleavages are based upon single ethnic groups, or multi-ethnic; if both traditional parties-in-government and newly formed opposition parties are going to have any realistic chance at winning seats, they are going to have to draw support from one ethnic population or another (Scarritt 2006).

There is much greater variation in class, religious, or ethnic cleavage structures than either Latin America or Africa. South Korea for example, because of ethnic homogeneity and legislation against union involvement in political parties, it is lacking in ethnic and class-based cleavages. Instead, electoral support for parties in South Korea has been primarily defined by regionalism (Kim 1998). Japan, equally homogenous, also lacks salient cleavage structures based on ethnicity. With the LDP on the right, against the more centrist DPJ; the primary determinant for electoral support within the Japanese party system is nationalism (Umeda 2013). In all reality, India is what personifies the complexity of Asian social structures.

There has been a competitive party system within Indian politics since independence in 1947. This has resulted in the establishment of several cleavage structures within society. The Indian National Congress, which dominated Indian political space from independence to the 1990s, draws support from all aspects of society, in particular both upper and lower sections of the caste system, as well as a significant part of the muslim population (Randall 2006). Whereas oppositional parties like the BJP, up until 2004, almost exclusively drew support from the Hindu population; but have recently gained support from both lower sections of the caste system, as well as smaller parties with contrasting electoral bases (Hasan 2006).

Competition within a party system develops according to Lipset and Rokkan's

cleavage theory when new issues become salient in society.¹² A salient social cleavage develops, and in turn, relationships between typically competitive parties and voters change as well. In such situations voters switch their partisan attachment to less competitive parties, or even new parties. These divides, punctuated by significant electoral competition, specifically resolve tension, ‘not adequately controlled ... by party politics as usual and result in significant transformation ... in the general shape of policy’ (10). During these periods of increased competition, political elites recognize increased popular concern for a set of issues and the natural divisions among the group.¹³

Consider the shift in party identification between the PJ and the UCR in Argentina. Since the 1940s the PJ largely drew support from urban working class voters, while

¹²Consider the role of slavery in 19th century America. One can see a dramatic change in voter preference and party structures by looking at the American political landscape from 1856 through 1864. At the center of the 1860 election, one sees the emergence of a new grouping of political beliefs and voter demographics crystalized by the diffusion of slavery across new states. The single issue of slavery, augmented by the Civil War, defines voter preferences and political actors within parties. Voter preferences, in this regard, can be seen as manifesting themselves as ballot decisions of individual voters in whatever is closest to their own personal preferences (defined and prioritized individually). Slavery was the salient issue at the time. It was fixed on social, political, and economic forces, creating enormous amounts of turmoil in the American political system. The 1860 election was fought at the sub-national level. Before 1860, Democrats and Whigs were able to compromise on slavery. However, the Whig party’s collapse following the Nebraska-Kansas Act and President Taylor’s death in the 1850s created a void in what was respectively a two-party system (Foner 1970). The collapse of the Whig Party pushed both actors, and voters, towards new political parties (Holt 2003). However, it does not always have to be due to a clearly divisive and socially pervasive issue such as slavery. The 1932 U.S. presidential election saw an increase in party competition with the inclusion of minority voters. Coupled with ideological backlash against New Deal policies, this shift lead to the Democratic Party gaining an advantage in national and sub-national American politics.

¹³Substantial increases in competition can produce a coalition that resides outside of the two-party system and produce an additional party during a given election. These parties are generally issue-based and geographically concentrated and develop out of a coalition in several ways. First, the coalitions reside in a traditional party and the party decides to abandon the position that supports a given coalition’s interest. Once systemic change begins, a political party will decide which positions to include in the platform and which groups that correlate with these positions. Coalitions become disgruntled with the new positions and gather their constituents to leave the party. Second, issue salience can organically create a coalition. Traditionally, these derive from a political, social, or economic crisis and are affiliated by way of political organizations or interest groups.

the UCR represented middle and upper classes (Lupu & Stokes 2009).¹⁴ However, starting in the 1970s and culminating in the early 2000s, the Peronist party attracted both working and middle class voters, (in due to the popularity of Menem’s neoliberal policies) whereas the UCR suffered substantial erosion of middle-class support. Scholarship investigating this find that class, while historically critical in electoral politics in Argentina and Latin America more generally, has become a less salient cleavage, largely being replaced by “abortion, religiosity, and nationalist sentiment” (Moreno 1999, 22).

In fact, while Moreno finds economic issues act as salient divides throughout the region, he argues that in most countries these are less important than salient cultural divides.¹⁵ He particularly emphasizes the role of social divides surrounding democracy and authoritarianism in many countries, and that class-based cleavages have weakened in the face of neoliberalism and globalization, an observation confirmed by case studies such as Mainwaring and Torcal’s analysis of Chile (Torcal & Mainwaring 2003, 83). In the second half of the 1990s, however, Moreno finds that even most democracy-related divides had shifted in favor of emerging divides related to cultural questions surrounding a growing indigenous rights movement in Central and South America.

With this in mind, let us reconsider the Argentina example. While class voting blocs may have shifted, one still needs to consider poor economic performance and ineffective policies. The UCR made a number of terrible economic choices while in power, and by 2001 Argentina’s De La Rúa was forced to default on Argentina’s

¹⁴In a September 1986 survey, nearly 50 percent of survey respondents named the UCR as “the party most bound to privileged sectors”; only 8 percent named the PJ. In contrast, 54 percent thought the PJ offered “the most concrete solutions for neediest sectors,” and 73 percent thought it the party that “best represented workers,” compared with 25 percent and 14 percent, respectively, for the UCR (Lupu 2016, 12).

¹⁵For instance, Molina and Perez (2004) find there was relatively weak class voting in Venezuela under Chavez.

IMF loans. This, combined with growing intra-party fractionalization, likely had a substantial impact upon their electoral outcomes.¹⁶ Nonetheless, even to the extent that Latin American politics is “about something,” the partisan attitudes and voter choices have little influence on institutional elements. Roberts (2002) notes that:

Few Latin America party systems have ever lived up to [Bartolini and Mair’s] exacting three-dimensional cleavage standards. In particular, the cleavage structures of most Latin American party systems have had shallower roots in sociological distinctions of class and ethnicity. As pointed out by Dix, most political parties in Latin America draw support from a heterogenous cross-section of society (8).

Using survey evidence from the mid-1990s, Mainwaring and Torcal concluded that:

On average, Latin American voters have weaker individual level attachments to political parties than Western European voters. They are not strongly anchored to parties through the traditional social cleavages that Lipset and Rokkan (1967) emphasized. . . . Even after decades of some apparent erosion of such cleavages in Western Europe, they remain far more important in anchoring the vote than in most of Latin America (2003, 17).

This suggests that there are flaws when applying Lipset and Rokkan’s cleavage theory to party systems outside Western Europe.

2.3 PROBLEMS WITH A CLEAVAGE-BASED THEORY OF PARTY COMPETITION

Croissant argues that “party systems in Southeast Asia exhibit a much lower ideological or programmatic orientation than party systems in the Western world” (Croissant, Bruns & John 2002, 347). This is in part due to anti-Communist sentiment on the part of political elites throughout much of the 20th century, where left-right ideological

¹⁶A 2001 survey found that less than three percent of Argentine voters said that De La Rúa’s administration was managing things well or very well (Lupu 2016, 17).

differences did not develop, unlike those in Latin America.¹⁷ In these instances there may exist polarization (for instance, Indonesia), but it is primarily a matter of ethnic or clan strife between political elites. In fact, many of the parties in Southeast Asia are driven by a combination of ethnic social structures and clientelistic networks (overlapping at times) where other cleavages may be highly salient, but end up reduced to clan or group claims.¹⁸ Consider the Philippines for example.

Social class in the Philippines is an important social cleavage, especially in large urban areas like metro Manila.¹⁹ However, outside of these areas, a combination of ethnic tension (e.g. ethnic identity disputes or ethno-political conflict) and clientelistic networks is what drives partisan attachment. The Philippines has 175 distinct ethnic groups. In this case, political elites use ethnic groups to foster patron-client relationships (Gera 2016). Even in places such as the Southern Philippines, where ethnic ties are the strongest, politicization of identity is a byproduct of patron-client relationships and inequality (Taya 2010). So there is some relationship between social cleavages and clientelism, at least in Southeast Asia. The question remains then, in what way

¹⁷Much of the literature on political parties and party systems in Southeast Asia argues that political parties not only programmatic platforms but also have shallow organizational structures. Certainly these parties are difficult to typify – and resemble a hybrid party – embody characteristics of both clientelistic and personalistic parties.

¹⁸Thailand is the exception here. Social cleavages in Thailand are centered around an urban-rural divide, (Bangkok and the periphery) along with a divide between Royalists and their opponents, and a weak divide between the Muslim minority in the South and the Buddhist majority. However, because political parties were never allowed to institutionalize due to a number of reoccurring coups, these cleavages are tenuously connected to the party system (Ockey 2005). The Thai party system was first dominated by military and bureaucratic elites, and later in the 1990s and early 2000s parties were dominated by capitalist elites (e.g. Thaksin's Thai Rak Thai party) (Sawasdee 2006).

¹⁹The role of class in electoral politics in the Philippines is further elaborated on in the following chapter. While it is particularly important in Manila, I do not want to give the impression that it doesn't matter in rural parts of Philippines. Indeed, combinations of ethnicity and clientelism are the primary drivers of political behavior. Social classes still interact in complex ways. Embedded in this dynamic is the role of status and access to resources, and relationships are far less harmonious than one might expect. For example, long-standing disputes over land rights and wages are common among wealthy landowners and poor farmers. Clientelism, often directed toward the poor, contributes to this contentiousness (Kerkvliet 2002).

do social cleavages (further illustrated in Table 2.1 below) matter for representation and political competition?

Table 2.1: Social Cleavages in Southeast Asia: 1946 to 2016

Country	Socio-Economic	Religious	Cultural Ethnic	Urban-Rural
Brunei	H	H	M	M
Cambodia	M	M	H	L
East Timor	H	M	L	H
Indonesia	H	H	H	H
Laos	M	L	H	H
Malaysia	H	H	H	M
Myanmar	M	M	L	H
Philippines	H	L	M	H
Singapore	M	L	L	M
Thailand	M	M	L	H
Vietnam	H	L	L	M

^a Cleavages are broken down into Low, Medium, and High salience

^b Calculations made by the author based upon archival field-work from May 2016 to May 2017

In many instances there are several competing cleavages, for example because of its colonial history, ethnic groups (along with religious identity) dominate politics in Malaysia. Likewise, there is a growing urban-rural divide (particularly between cities in Central Malaysia and rural parts of the north), and a class divide (best seen between East and West Malaysia). However, the role these cleavages play in determining shifts in voter identification and subsequent changes in party competition is open for debate. While ethnic groups play a significant and undeniable role in politics in Malaysia, one also has to consider other factors. The obvious example is the 2018 Malaysian elections. The opposition appealed to multiple demographics over

the need for government transparency, and not entirely ethnic politics, socio-economic issues, or the urban-rural divide. Individual political attitudes toward the incumbent party, and the ability of the opposition to utilize those opinions were more important than salient social divisions.

Consider a more in-depth example, Indonesia, where the evolution of salient cleavages is more complex. Together, religion and ethnicity are the dominant cleavage structures within Indonesia.²⁰ Religion institutionalized as a cleavage in the 1910s and 1920s after Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch. In 1955, during the first – and until 1999 – the only free election, political groups divided along religious and secular lines. The Masyumi and the NU fought in parliament for the implementation of *shari'a* law, while the PKI, primarily representing the urban poor, pushed a secular agenda. However, Sakarno consolidated power, suspended parliament and banned several political parties, including Masyumi.

Under Sakarno and later Suharto, political cleavages were destroyed when the regime suppressed social conflicts (Robinson & Hadiz 2004, 46-49 and 60-62). Independent trade unions and peasant associations were banned and power was centralized under a neopatrimonial military regime. In regular – but rigged – elections, Golkar the ruling party, won 60 to 100 percent of the votes. The two existing opposition parties (the PDI and the PPP) were broadly representative of social strata, with the PPP strongest in orthodox Muslim areas (Aceh and West Sumatra) and the PDI dominant in areas with religious minorities (Bali and Flores). However, when Suharto's regime fell in 1998, legitimate political competition and social cleavages returned to Indonesia.

²⁰Before the coup, there were other social cleavages in Indonesia. A division between “capital” and “labor” existed, that is largely represented through the communist party (PKI). It surfaced in the early 1920s and succeeded in attracting the majority of industrial and agricultural workers, yet even it was expressed with religious overtones (Hindley 1970). The urban-rural divide played out in Java and the Outer Islands between Masyumi (representing urban voters) and the NU (representing rural voters) (Mortimer 1969, Geertz 1963).

After the 1999 elections, many observers expected the new party system to be structured around previously existing social cleavages from the 1950s; surprisingly, it did not, and while many of those cleavages were still important, they were formed around parties differently (Ufen 2006). To be sure, religion was still the dominant division in society, with ethnicity and regional identity being institutionalized through religious affiliations.²¹ However, they are now based upon “traditionalism versus modernism” and “secularism versus moderate political Islam versus Islamism” (Tomsa 2013).²² Furthermore, the organizational basis of these differences is dwindling, and Muslim mass organizations do not have the relationship with political parties they did in the 1950s. This is due, in part, to clerics avoiding political involvement because it negatively impacts their standing in society (Jung 2008, Sukma 2009). This leaves religion, even as the dominant social cleavage in society, only shallowly connected to the party system.

Instead, voters choose parties based primarily upon both clientelism and the charisma of its leadership. This personalism has resulted in a highly leader-centric party at the top and pervasive clientelism at the bottom, along with shallow ideological platforms, and significant fractionalization, where party elites compete within the party for access to resources. Overall, Indonesian political parties are driven by rent-seeking and patronage instead of legitimate programmatic debates (Buehler & Tan 2007, Erb

²¹Christians in Manado, Flores, and North Sumatra vote for non-islamic parties, Golkar or the PD. While a class-based cleavage never returned to Indonesia, in regards to other social cleavages, the urban-rural divide is quite strong. Particularly interesting, there is a regional pattern to such votes (Liddle & Mujani 2007). Urban voters typically support the PD and PKS and rural voters support Golkar and the PKB. Golkar, in particular, reinvented itself as a party of the periphery, with strong support in Bali, Kalimantan, and central Sumatra (Tomsa 2008). While the PKB is popular in East Java (Ananta, Arifin & Suryadinata 2005).

²²Religious differences surround, for instance, issues concerning religious education, constitutional amendments, and pornography (Braun 2008, Platzdasch 2009).

& Sulistiyanto 2009, Fionna & Tomsa 2017).²³ According to Slater (2004) parties act like a cartel, sharing decision-making, power, and the spoils of office.²⁴

Certainly social cleavages exist in the world. However, it seems that while cleavages exist, political attitudes are equally important. There are numerous examples of shifting political attitudes in societies clearly divided by class, ethnicity, or religion. Minority and majority ethnic groups may hold very different attitudes about minority rights to political representation, but attitudes often differ within those groups as well (especially within majority groups). Likewise, in many countries the attitude toward minority representation determines the fundamental issue divide within the majority groups. A similar phenomenon can often occur within and between religious groups in the form of sharp disagreements among adherents of a dominant religious sect regarding the role of religion in political life.

While overlooked, individual political attitudes and strategic interaction between parties and voters are important aspects of the explanation. This is especially true of clientelism. Perhaps there exists a combination of clientelistic elements—by which individuals seek tangible rewards based upon expectations surrounding economic status and performance rather than policy. Juxtaposed against cleavage politics, these alternatives represent blank spaces. However, in the application of social cleavages, one should not ignore the fundamental nature of clientelism, which often involves dense and close-knit social networks. These networks perform many of the same functions as religious or ethnic groups and can typically be understood in “structural

²³While Indonesian political parties are considered significantly more institutionalized than those in neighboring Thailand or the Philippines, they still suffer from a number of critical weaknesses, characteristic of political parties in Southeast Asia more generally.

²⁴There is some debate surrounding the cartelization of Indonesian political parties. Ambardi (2008) and Slater (2004, 2018) argue that in the post-Suharto era, cartelization is a key characteristic of Indonesian party politics. While the literature trends in this direction, Mietzner (2013) disagrees and states that much of the literature focused on this debate neglects the competitiveness of individual parties.

terms as census-divides or cleavages” (Deegan-Krause 2007, 18).

2.4 A THEORY OF PARTISAN ATTACHMENT AND PARTY COMPETITION

What explains a substantial increase in the competitiveness of political parties in the developing world, and why have partisan attachments for some of these parties shifted dramatically in recent elections? To answer this, we must understand something about how voters form political opinions and make voting decisions. We must also understand how political parties make decisions that impact mass behavior. Because party competition is fundamentally about changing attitudes and choices of voters from one party to the next. Hence the focus on how voters relate to political parties. They do so through party brands.

When a party’s platform, or *brand* is clearly defined, some voters form strong attachments to it, so strong in fact they may support the party regardless of its performance in office (Lupu 2016). However, at times, the party brand dilutes or weakens due to some degree of inconsistency. When this happens, a voter’s partisan attachment to the party erodes and they start considering the party’s policies while in office more seriously when making voting decisions. Political parties then become susceptible to voter’s retrospective evaluations. When established or incumbent parties both dilute their brand, and perform poorly in office, partisan realignment occurs and voters defect en masse to new or opposition parties. Party competition then increases.²⁵ This theoretical framework is outlined in Figure 2.1.

How do parties create brands, and how do these brands impact voters’ long-term attachment to parties? Scholars who study these relationships have long focused on advanced democracies, where choices between parties and their brands are relatively

²⁵This works in both multiparty systems where competition can either go up or down, and dominant or hegemonic party systems where competition will only go one direction.

stable over time (Baumer & Gold 1995, Snyder & Ting 2002). Although, how does this relationship evolve in emerging democracies, where the party, and voter attachments are both considerably less stable? Beyond the scope of this dissertation, what does this mean for their political survival, when voters switch to different parties?

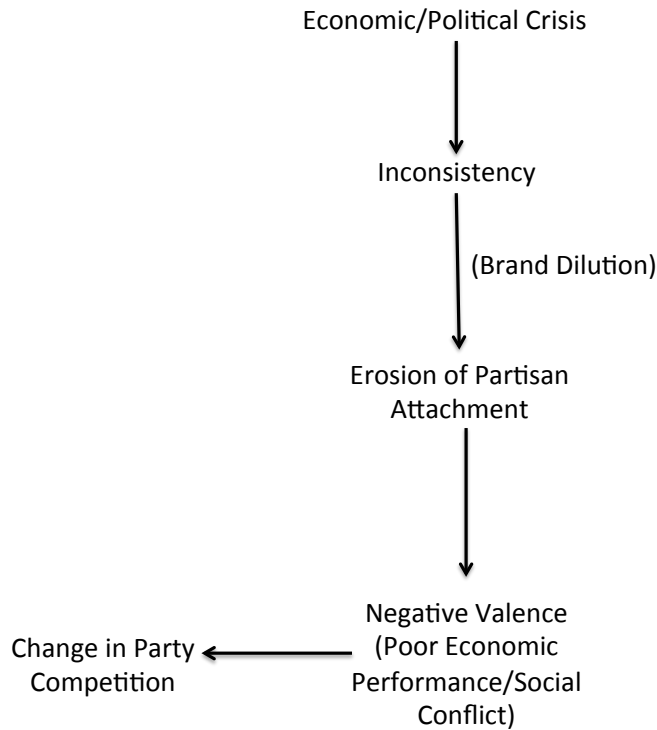


Figure 2.1: A Sequential Theory of Party Competition

2.4.1 HOW PARTIES DEVELOP BRANDS

Party brands give voters some indication of the type of citizen the party represents. It is not a stretch to imagine that voters have some criteria for evaluating parties in mind.²⁶ For some it is an ethnic attachment - to what extent does the party accurately

²⁶I assume voters have a range of possible parties. In both multiparty and hegemonic or dominant party systems there are situations where voters consider the probability of a party winning an

reflect their ethnic group. To others it is a economic attachment, and class may be an important factor in their political identity. Some political parties may seem pro-poor while others are perceived as reflecting the interests of the wealthy. For instance, parties that favor the poor might push an agenda of redistribution; while parties that favor more affluent voters might limit corporate regulation. Finally, some parties are more clientelistic than others - and voters who are more interested in the monetary value of their vote will sell to the highest (or perhaps most convenient) bidder.²⁷ In any case, voters form perceptions of party brands based upon what parties do and say over time.²⁸

Party elites may publicly advocate for a certain type of policy, cultivate dense clientelistic networks, they may pass legislation, or associate with other like-minded individuals, but no matter their behavior they send a signal to prospective voters.²⁹ From a programmatic standpoint, “parties appeal to the middle classes, women, or ecologists by presenting themselves as representative of their interests and values. . . .”

election. This is probably clearest in a party system where one party is unlikely to lose.

²⁷It is important to remember not to oversimplify such voters. They are not unidimensionally clientelistic or ideological, and can sell their votes while still having a policy preference, even if they do not vote on it. It is merely that immediate benefits outweigh benefits they might receive from policies in the future.

²⁸It is likely, especially in new democracies where regional parties are stronger, that a voter can have an attachment to a national party that is different than an attachment to a sub-national one. For the sake of simplicity, I focus on national parties and single dimensions of partisan attachments. However, multiple dimensions of attachment between regional and national parties would certainly be possible.

²⁹There is some debate concerning whether voters uniformly interpret the same observation in the same manner. That is, the effect (if any) partisanship has on the interpretation of information (Converse 1964, Zaller 1992, Gerber & Green 1999, Bartels 2002). Campbell et al (1960) argue that partisanship acts as a screen to interpret information. However, more recent scholarship has found that partisanship and perception works two ways: partisan bias colors perceptions and perceptions inform partisan bias (Green, Palmquist & Schickler 2004, Layman, Carsey & Horowitz 2006). The necessary question to answer is to what extent does it impede or promote change? As Franklin and Jackson (1983, 969) note, “as previous partisan attachment acts to restrain change, it is like a sea anchor, which retards drift rather than arrests it entirely. If the tides of policy evaluation are strong enough, conversations can and will take place.”

(Przeworski & Sprague 1986, 82). From a clientelistic point of view, “parties identify voter groups that would be amenable to the provision of benefits,” in return for their electoral support (Tzelgov & Wang 2016, 375). Voters then continually update their prior beliefs toward parties based upon new observations.

This suggests that voters respond to the actions of party elites. They may not see every action taken by the party representative in the legislature, or every clientelistic transaction, but they observe some broadly important behavior that gives them an understanding of trends within the party (Woon & Pope 2008, Ansolabehere & Jones 2010). Voters then use these observations to update their perception of the party brand (Zaller 1992).³⁰ This departs from the literature in an important manner.

Green et al (2004) argues that a party prototype is the typical person who votes for that party (Lupu 2016, 21). For example, working-class voters who think that most working-class voters support the Labour party, will think that the working-class voter is the Labour party prototype. This is the same for middle-class voters and the Conservative party prototype. Instead, think of voters not as party supporters, but party beneficiaries. Such a voter is the type of citizen whose interests the party represents, and stands to benefit from its position in government. So the citizen who votes for the Labour or Conservative party in British elections, or the Kenyan voter who supports the Democratic party, does so because these parties are perceived to be those who look out for working-class, or middle-class British, or Luhya voters more so than Kikuyu.

³⁰Scholarship implies that a socialization process exists for new voters who model their political behavior around that of family members (Achen 2002, Kroh & Selb 2009). For instance, they may discuss politics with their close relatives, friends, or coworkers. There is also literature that suggests voters intuitively understand who buys and sells votes, despite clientelism being prohibited (Cruz 2013). In the interest of simplicity, I focus on unidimensional party brands, it is also possible that parties have different brands for different groups of voters. Parties want to maximize votes after all. For example, they may have a clientelistic brand for poor, rural voters and a more programmatic brand for wealthier, urban voters (Lupu 2016).

These prototypes are derived from a broader set of observations beyond that of voting patterns. Voters rely on heuristics when forming political attachments, including the actions of party elites, to determine the typical voter a party represents. For example, when DAP party elites meet with Chinese interest groups in Penang, and regularly support policies that benefit the Malaysian-Chinese in that community, they are more likely to be seen as the party that represents the Chinese in Penang.³¹ Although, party brands, and by extension, party prototypes are not always clear.

Voters may have a sense of a party brand, but ideas surrounding it are sometimes vague. With this in mind, party brands can be characterized as clear or strong, when voters have a better understanding of it. Conversely, when voters have a poor sense of the party brand, it can be considered weak or ambiguous. Party brands can become stronger or more ambiguous over time, and as voters observe the behavior of party officials, they update their perceptions of that strength or clarity. For example, a party may represent multiple prototypes, where one individual brand may grow stronger while another grows weaker.³²

2.4.2 HOW VOTERS FORM PARTY ATTACHMENTS

Voters update their perceptions of party brands by observing the actions of the party (Lupu 2016). Repeatedly observing what the party says and does, creates an image of the party brand. They continually update that image each time they see how the party behaves, this forms the basis for partisanship. These party attachments are similar to group identities, where members of the group form an identity based upon attachment

³¹Compared to the MCA who also try to mobilize the Chinese in Malaysia. However, their actions at least by the majority of voters in Penang, are seen as less beneficial.

³²Huber et al (2005) argues there is an institutional effect that determines the degree voters can observe party actions. I (along with Lupu) largely ignore the role of institutions here.

to that group.³³ These group identities are based upon stereotypes people have about each group - what a prototypical poor person or a prototypical affluent person looks like. Huddy (Huddy 2001) argues that a “prototype can either be the most typical member of a group – an actual person – or a fictional member who embodies the most common or frequent attributes shared among group members” (133–134).

The group prototype is what individuals use to determine their attachment to that group. Individuals identify as a poor or affluent person, as Malay or Kikuyu, if “they think they resemble, or *fit* that prototype” (Lupu 2016, 22).³⁴ This is also relative to other groups, where voters feel the greatest attachment to a group when other group prototypes are dissimilar to their own, this is characterized as *comparative fit*. Attachments to the group grow stronger as voters perceive they with closely fit with the party (Lupu 2016).³⁵ The weaker or more ambiguous the party brand, the less partisan attachment the voter will have towards the party prototype. (Hogg, Abrams, Otten & Hinkle 2004).

Partisan attachment will be strongest when voters perceive themselves as similar to the party prototype *and* when other party prototypes are dissimilar. For example,

³³There is debate within political science about whether partisanship is based upon social groups or rational choice (Fiorina 1981, Achen 1992, Gerber & Green 1998). While I rely on the concept of group identity; in both this theory, as well as rational models, performance evaluations play a strong factor in deciding competition.

³⁴There is a strand of literature on ethnic political attachment and partisanship that I have yet to adequately discuss. In a brief overview, the evidence that ethnicity is a key identifier of consistent party support, is mixed (Ishiyama & Fox 2006). It is possible for partisans of smaller ethnic-based political parties to be swayed if they believe another party has a better chance of winning (Chandra 2009). This is because while ethnicity is an important mechanism for mobilizing voters, (Posner 2007) ethnicity is also a multi-faceted identity (Horowitz 1985, Fearon & Laitin 1996, Chandra 2004) and voters can be more or less “ethnic” relative to their political identity.

³⁵Partisanship is best viewed as a continuum where you have strong partisan attachment on one end and weak partisan attachment on the other. So when party brands grow weaker or more ambiguous, partisan attachment within the population also weakens and the party loses voters who previously identified with that party.

a Filipino voter may have a strong partisan attachment to the left-wing Philippine Democratic party because she both fits closest with the party prototype and other party prototypes, for example that of the more conservative National Unity Party, is dissimilar. The question of comparative fit is important here.³⁶ If a voter thinks her or she resembles two parties' prototypes then the partisan attachment to both parties will be weak.³⁷ Even when the voter has a clear understanding of other party brands, if they see them as equivalent, they will fail to form a strong attachment. What happens when a party suddenly changes party brands?

As perceptions of the party changes over time, partisan attachment shifts along with it. It ebbs and flows as the party brand grows stronger or weaker, possibly without the voter even realizing it. Imagine a left-leaning party that suddenly becomes more conservative. Suddenly a voter that had little attachment to a center-left party, now benefits. Or a clientelistic party that decides to opt out of clientelism and become more programmatic. A longstanding client of the party will not benefit in the same manner. However, a voter who does not identify as a client may be more inclined to vote for a now programmatic party. While they may not identify with them immediately, they will certainly consider voting for them in future elections. In each case the attachment of each voter grows stronger or weaker as the party brand changes. This is played out

³⁶The role of comparative fit is often overlooked in the partisanship literature. As Weisberg and Greene (2003) argue, "too much of the work on party identification has examined identification within the in-group without taking into account the views toward the out-group."

³⁷This is evident in patron-clientelistic relationships, where a voter has a weak ideological attachment to a party, and only votes for one party over another because of the benefits they receive. This is not to say that such parties are completely clientelistic, as there is some evidence that shows linkages between clientelism and ideology. Tzelgov and Wang (2016) show that economic interests dictate their likelihood of targeting voters with clientelist benefits. This is more so with right-wing parties than leftist ones. As Coppedge (1998) explains, "clientelism and ideology are not necessarily mutually exclusive... Clientelism is merely a means to build and maintain a power base; ideology, where it exists, is what guides what that power is used for. Many parties are to some degree, clientelistic, to some degree personalistic, *and* to some degree ideological; these three qualities will vary independently" (552).

when you map class-based cleavages against a clientelistic market.

The middle-class and working-class voters will shift partisan attachment based upon the strength or clarity of party brands. The poor are typically the targets of clientelistic parties, and they accept based upon either short time horizons or they attach greater marginal utility to private goods. In either case, poor voters identify as clients of a party because of the party brand. They see the party as willing and capable of buying their vote at a given price. Their party attachment is based upon clientelism. However, middle-class and more affluent voters are different.

Middle-class voters may reject a clientelistic party for several reasons. They might object based upon self-interest or some moral reason. Beginning with the former, they may view clientelism as a negative signal of the quality of governance. Even if they are not the targets of clientelistic activity, they are consumers of public goods distributed by the incumbent party. They also might object to a clientelistic party because of moral or normative reasons. They view clientelism as incompatible with democratic values and government transparency.³⁸ Regardless of the reason for the objection, middle-class voters do not identify as clients. Although, this may change depending on the party brand.

2.4.3 CLIENTELISM AS A PARTY BRAND

What about clientelism as a party brand? Lupu (2016) states that “patterns of partisanship across Latin America suggest clientelism is not the basis for most voters’ attachment to parties” (7). I disagree with this, especially when considering political parties in Southeast Asia. Clientelism is likely to continue flourishing, particularly in countries like Thailand, Indonesia, or the Philippines, where modernization and

³⁸While the poor or working-class voter might feel the same, they nonetheless value the immediate private goods over some moral objection.

urbanization have done little to alleviate income inequality. For political parties in these countries, the complex networks of clientelism have become part and parcel to traditional networks of reciprocity and exploitation. Indeed, in some cases such as the Philippines, these networks are complemented by violence and coercion (Quimpo 2007, Sidel 1999). In this manner, clientelism and corruption more broadly, is a critical aspect of party politics in Southeast Asia. Indeed, the majority of parties in Southeast Asia would not be able to function effectively without it.

In the context of Southeast Asia, clientelism is not simply a method for linking parties and voters, but is a critical aspect of the internal functioning of the party itself (Hellmann 2011, Tomsa 2013). In fact, in the absence of established rules for party procedures, decision-making processes particularly regarding candidate recruitment and promotion are dictated by personal connections rather than merit. As a result, parties are heavily fractionalized and corrupt, and clientelism – or “money politics” in both Malaysia and the Indonesia – is a fundamental aspect of this. Furthermore, any attempt to reduce the persistence of these features has failed. Hence, clientelism, now and for the foreseeable future, is an underlying characteristic of party politics in Southeast Asia. Thus, political parties use various forms of clientelism as a party brand.³⁹

Why use clientelism as a party brand? At the heart of this lies two questions: 1) Why parties buy votes and 2) why voters sell them. Parties buy votes, first and foremost, because they want to maximize the number of votes they receive, this is true

³⁹This is despite the likelihood that clientelism poses costs to politicians (Weitz-Shapiro 2012). While the use of clientelism may gain votes from the poor, it is likely to dissuade middle-class voters. As Magaloni, Diaz-Cayeros, and Estevez (2007) point out, because of budget constraints, spending on clientelist goods decreases from the pool of resources that could be used to attract more affluent voters.

in both developing democracies and mature ones (Stokes et al. 2013, Aldrich 1995).⁴⁰ Parties use clientelism as a vote-maximizing strategy only when the cost of said vote is low (Brusco, Nazareno & Stokes 2004). Voters sell votes when their time horizons are short and they value the immediate monetary benefits more so than benefits they might receive through public goods in the future (Stokes 2007, Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007).⁴¹ This makes clientelism – specifically vote buying as a party brand – an individual exchange.

This is different than programmatic party brands where political parties mobilize voters en masse. Clientelistic political party organizations are built around the mobilization of individual voter demands.⁴² A clientelistic party, in this case, transmits to voters a signal of their willingness and ability to sell votes (Kitschelt, Mansfeldova, Markowski & Toka 1999).⁴³ On the other side of the coin, the voter sells their vote when they determine the party is both willing to buy it, and capable of meeting their price. This happens repeatedly, from election to election, creating a partisan

⁴⁰This is assuming political parties are 1) not risk averse, and do not fear the possible consequences of getting caught. 2) They are not concerned with the normative issues surrounding transparency and good governance. 3) They have the available resources to buy votes. Smaller opposition parties that do not have the resources to buy votes, are then required to use legitimate programmatic means to mobilize voters.

⁴¹It is certainly possible where if a voter both sells a vote, *and* legitimately supports the party they sold to, they are able to enjoy both immediate and future benefits.

⁴²It is likely that political parties in these systems are to some degree programmatic, clientelistic, and personalistic. Where they buy individual votes, have some policy agenda, and base support around charismatic leadership. For example, the Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB) both has an agenda based upon Malay supremacy, and buys votes. Or the UCR in Argentina, who campaigns on a center-left economic platform but also relies upon patron-client relationships. This would be in line with the theoretical assumption that a party can have multiple brands and voters can both sell votes and have legitimate policy preferences. It is also likely that a party, is to some degree, personalistic as well, where they rely on media and personal charisma to win votes.

⁴³The ways through which parties use to attract voters is known, in Kitschelt's (2000) words, as a "linkage mechanism." Where the type of linkage mechanism used by parties as their party brand has important bearings not only on how voters cast their votes but also on how party representatives associate themselves within the party (Epstein 2009, 347).

attachment based not upon an ideological or programmatic identity, but a clientelistic one.⁴⁴ The voter identifies as a client of a party, and partisan attachment is strong, so long as the party is willing and able to meet their demands.

However, this limits the political value of a voter, and programmatic appeals based upon public goods and clientelism (upon private goods) are not entirely congruent. As Kitschelt and Wang (2014) note, clientelistic parties are not always able to meet societal demand for public goods. Therefore, when the only motivation for supporting a party is a periodic monetary exchange, support is likely to quickly erode when private benefits are absent, insufficient, or unappealing to the voter (Hopkin 2006, 407).⁴⁵ If clientelism can be used as a party brand, and partisanship can be defined in clientelistic terms, what happens when the brand weakens?

2.4.4 WEAK BRANDS AND VULNERABLE PARTIES

How do these party attachments impact voter behavior? Voters with strong partisan attachments have equally strong affinities to the party. This is true even when the party experiences a period of significant economic decline, a scandal while in office, or they do not fulfill campaign promises. Voters will give the party the benefit of the doubt because in their minds the party will still look out for them, either through public or private benefits. As Hirschhman (1970) argues, partisan voters will support the party out of loyalty when nonpartisans will not.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Indeed, there exists a small number of voters that would be unable to survive without this exchange (This is taken by the author from an interview with a former UMNO representative in Khota Bharu, Kelantan on December 1st 2016).

⁴⁵This has substantial repercussions for the party, wherein, they will face questions of legitimacy, and possible backlash (Mainwaring 1999, Müller 2006, Teng 2015).

⁴⁶I use the terms “nonpartisan,” “swing voter,” or “independent voter” interchangeably. In Mayer’s words, a swing voter is one “who is not solidly committed to one candidate or the other as to make all efforts of persuasion futile” (2008, 359). This makes a swing voter conceptually distinct from a core supporter or party stalwart.

How do nonpartisans choose between political parties? From a programmatic standpoint independent voters or swing voters may choose a party based upon policy direction, (Downs 1957) From a clientelistic standpoint, this is different, and the efficacy of both clientelistic and collective goods is what drives independent voters. While independent voters have an interest in policy, and are not unidimensionally clientelistic, they are less likely to switch parties based on clientelistic exchanges than on policy grounds (Weghorst & Lindberg 2013).⁴⁷ Still, valence is important to every voter, and party choices likely depend upon these issues as well (Kayser & Wlezien 2011).

Valence issues are those issues on which all voters have the same position, for example economic growth (Lupu 2016). Since all voters favor economic growth, political parties form a consensus on the issue. Every party is for economic growth, and the difference between them, is the degree in which they are more or less competent on that particular issue, relative to other parties. As Stokes (1992, 148) states, “in valence politics, nothing succeeds like success, or fails like failure.” Voters rate parties based upon past performance, and not future proposals. In fact, just considering economic performance as a valence issue, economic voting is an important aspect of voter behavior throughout most democracies, developing and otherwise (Anderson 2000, Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier 2000, Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier 2007).⁴⁸

As partisanship attachment erodes, and more voters stop identifying with the party,

⁴⁷There is, of course, some debate surrounding the role of swing voters in vote buying markets. It is unclear if parties are more effective in obtaining votes by targeting swing voters, (Schady 2000) by rewarding core supporters, (Perez 2006) or through a combination of both (Stokes & Dunning 2008). It is While I discuss this in greater detail in the next chapter, the trend in the literature is that parties target swing voters over core supports. Still, it is possible that because vote buying is illegal that parties will target core supporters because they implicitly understand that these voters will stay quiet in the face of a clientelistic offer.

⁴⁸Certainly there are other valence issues beyond economic success. Scholars suggest that both extreme corruption and social unrest are critical valence issues among voters (Mainwaring 2006, Abney et al. 2013).

valence issues such as economic performance become more important. As Coppedge notes, “the strength of partisan identification therefore moderates the effect of economic performance on the vote” (2001, 187). This holds true regardless of whether voters are ideological or clientelistic. Even clientelistic voters will stop supporting a party in the face of an economic crisis or scandal, see for example the LDP in Japan, the PRI in Mexico, or the PT in Brazil. In this situation, it is possible for the client to exit the relationship with the patron and vote based upon programmatic ideals, or align themselves with a party that offers other private benefits.⁴⁹ In either case, the voter decides retroactively that supporting that particular party is not in their best interest.

2.4.5 BRAND DILUTION

The branding model states that party behavior dictates partisan attitudes. When party brands are clear, voters will believe they resemble the party prototype. As long as voters can differentiate between party brands, then partisan attachment will remain strong. However, party brands change over time. They shift on policy, or become more or less clientelistic, and consequently the brand is diluted. As the brand dilutes, voters partisan attachment waxes and wanes along with it. If this happens often enough, combined with some issue that all voters agree upon, they will no longer associate with the party, and partisan attachment will shift. What actions causes parties to dilute their brands?

This is a matter of inconsistency. When voters see a party saying and doing things that contradict past behavior, their perceptions of the party become poorly defined, and the party brand weakens. Inconsistency weakens the party brand in two ways. Perhaps there is some internal conflict within the party that sends conflicting signals to

⁴⁹If there is a significant economic crisis, and the party uses state resources to retain power, it is likely they will not have enough to offer voters.

the voters, making them more uncertain about who the party represents. For example, some party members decide not to engage in clientelistic behavior while others do. Perhaps parties confuse voters when they shift policy positions. For example, if a party is initially seen as pro-poor, but then suddenly cuts government redistribution programs. In these instances, voters' new perceptions of the party conflict with old ones, making the brand unclear.

When parties become inconsistent they may move closer or further away from voters. Some voters may come to realize they resemble the party prototype more than they previously thought, while others realize they no longer resemble the prototype. Consider a clientelistic party that transitions to a programmatic one. It may lose poor voters, but it stands to gain in the long-term, middle-class and wealthier voters. How successful the party is dependent upon the distribution of voters in the political space. If this distribution of voters is flat, or uniform, then inconsistency will always lead to erosion of partisanship in the short-term.⁵⁰ While some voters move closer or further away, all voters will initially be uncertain about the party's new position. The stronger the initial partisan attachment, the longer it will take before they completely identifying with a new party (Zuckerman, Dasovic & Fitzgerald 2007).

Some voters will take longer to switch parties than others. This depends on how large or public the inconsistency is. If the shift in brand is small, for example a minor policy shift, it will go unnoticed by the majority of voters. If it a sizable shift, for example opting out of clientelism, then more voters will notice. Equally important, for voters with a long history of political support for one party, new information will make little difference in their partisan attachment. However, for new voters or those with

⁵⁰However, if the party weakens its brand along one dimension, and strengthens it along a different dimension, the result will be less clear.

overall weak partisan attachments, new information will have a bigger impact.⁵¹ The effect of inconsistency will therefore depend upon the characteristics of the individual voter.

Why would a party dilute its brand?⁵² If parties want to maximize votes, why would they ever dilute their brand, and risk alienating voters? If we assume that political parties are unitary actors, it would seem irrational that parties would act this way. However, parties are not unitary actors, and are complex organizations made up of diverse individuals (Sartori 1976). At times these individuals may have divergent or conflicting opinions about the direction of the party. This is especially true in times of crisis.

New democracies will particularly face times of crisis that may divide the party. Party leaders in these situations may face regime instability, weak institutions, or the threat of a military coup. This is alongside economic instability and factions that are loyal to previous leadership. In this situations party leaders will seek unity for the country, however, other members of the party may have differing opinions on what that unity looks like. This search for legitimacy and a unified front leads to party dilution. Even during periods of stability, there can be intra-party competition or party fractionalization that leads to dilution.

If there are conflicting views on the direction of the party, and members take actions that differ from those of party elites, there can be brand dilution. For example, if party elites advocate for a conservative economic policy position during a campaign, and other party members support conflicting policies, there will be dilution and voters will receive conflicting signals. There is another example as well, when parties either

⁵¹This is consistent with literature on older voters (Converse 1969, Converse 1976).

⁵²There is some debate on whether a party's ambiguity always has a negative effect. In some cases, scholars argue, ambiguity can have a positive effect on voters. (Shepsle 1972, Bartels 1986).

opt out of clientelism or increase clientelistic activity. When party elites want to move in a more ideological direction and restrict clientelistic activity, while other party members wish to continue relying on clientelism to mobilize voters, there will be brand dilution.

2.5 PARTISAN REALIGNMENT AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR COMPETITION

Theories of party competition often emphasize party efforts to attract votes, for example, spatial models like Downs (1957). Emphasizing partisan attachment and party strategy, however, has not been a typical focus for spatial models of competition. Indeed, Downsian spatial models that take into account party interests in fostering partisan attachment might develop new expectations regarding party competition (Lupu 2016, 178). However, this would require moving beyond the unrealistic expectation that partisan attachment is “impervious to party strategy” (Kitschelt 1994, 31). This has implications for not just voters but the competitiveness of the party system as well.

If party brands matter in this way, we should observe their effects on both political attitudes and voter behavior. In the realm of attitudes, we would expect to see party inconsistency weaken voters’ partisan attachments. When looking at voter behavior, we should see the combination of brand dilution and bad performance, broadly defined, lead to partisan realignment. For example, the substantial growth in the middle-class leads to weakening party attachment, ending with a rejection of a clientelistic party and partisan realignment. This should, in the aggregate, result in an increase in party competition.

2.6 INSTANCES OF PARTISANSHIP AND CLIENTELISM IN MALAYSIA

UMNO, the major party within what would become the Barisan Nasional, ruled Malaysian politics from 1957 to 2018.⁵³ They used a number of illicit mobilization strategies, including vote buying, packaged around a combination of affirmative action programs and developmental policies to stay in power. When the PRI declined in power at the end of the 20th century, UMNO as the head of the Barisan Nasional, became the longest running dominant party in the world. Although, there would be cracks in the party machine. The party along with the coalition started to fragment. Support of the Chinese and Malay middle classes eroded, and seen in figure 2.2 on the following page, the BN vote share has continuously declined since the early 2000s.

In the 2008 election, UMNO suffered a major defeat when the BN lost its two-thirds majority in parliament for the first time since 1974; the ruling coalition also lost control of five state governments, another unprecedented event. Going into the 2013 election, UMNO was uncertain of victory and worried that party factionalism that had undermined the BN's performance in 2008 would continue to hinder attempts to recover loss of support in later elections. In 2013, UMNO was overwhelmingly rejected, and for the first time lost the popular vote. Only due to substantial gerrymandering and malapportionment, were they able to hold onto enough seats to retain power. However, in 2018 they suffered massive losses. UMNO and the BN lost across the board, and for the first time they were forced to contest power as the opposition coalition. To understand why their support eroded, we must consider the UMNO party brand.

⁵³While coalitions are critical to electoral success in Malaysia, it is obvious that UMNO, as head of the coalition, dictates party strategies.

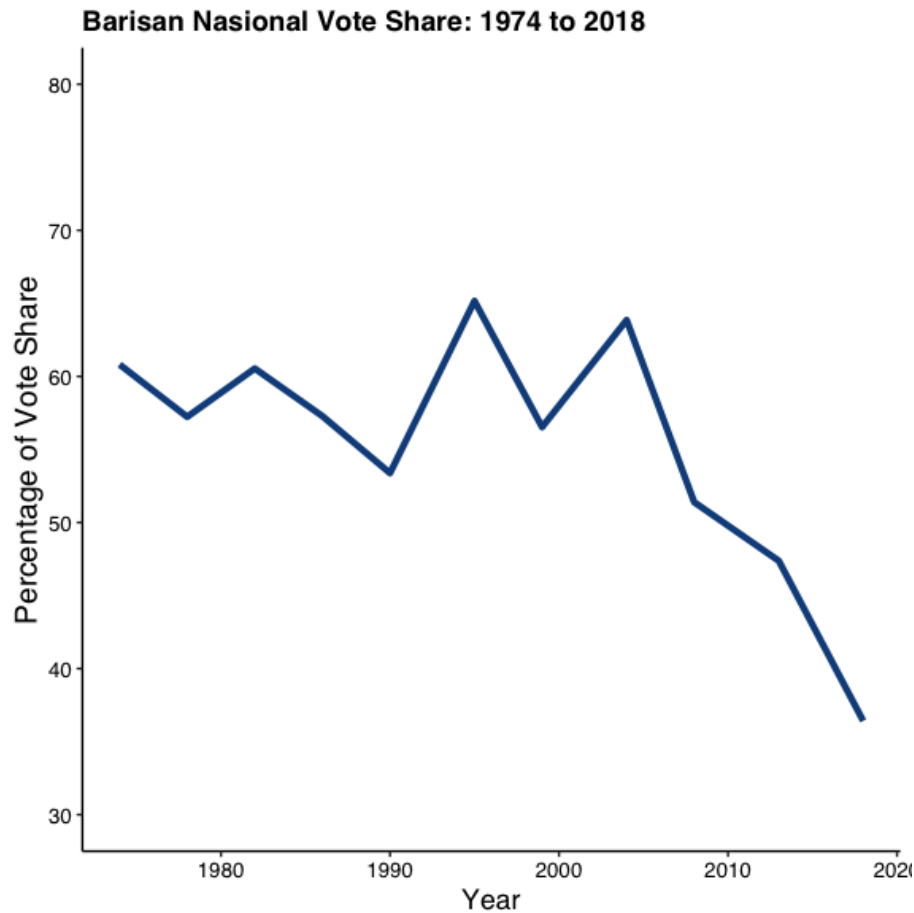


Figure 2.2: Barisan Nasional Vote Share: 1974 to 2018

An assessment of Malaysia’s economic history, especially industrialization during the 1990s, would indicate a combination of policies linking a highly interventionist “developmental state,” an extensive reliance upon privatization, and affirmative action directed toward Malays in rural areas (Johnson 1982, Gomez & Kaur 2014). The developmental state and privatization both can be characterized by close state-business relations. This state-business relationship was created to develop domestic enterprises through a system of selective patronage. Affirmative action, introduced in 1970, determined who received privatized rents, while selective patronage was instituted by the state to promote wealth amongst Malay voters (Gomez & Saravanamuttu 2013, Gomez

& Kaur 2014). The affirmative action-based New Economic Policy (NEP) served to eradicate poverty and redress income inequality between the Malay Bumiputera and other, wealthier ethnic groups. It was designed to increase Bumiputera participation in the corporate world. Seen in Table 2.2 below, Bumiputera ownership of corporate entities increased from 1.5 percent in 1969 to almost 20 percent in 2006. This system of selective patronage through affirmative action would create, and subsequently embed state-business ties in UMNO.

Table 2.2: Ownership of Share Capital of Limited Companies: 1969 to 2006 (Percent)

	1969	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1999	2004	2006
Bumiputera	1.5	2.4	9.2	12.5	19.1	19.2	20.6	19.1	18.9	19.4
Chinese	22.8	27.2	NA	NA	33.4	45.5	40.9	37.9	39	42.4
Indian	0.9	1.1	NA	NA	1.2	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.1
Foreign Owned	62.1	63.4	53.3	42.9	26	25.4	27.7	32.7	32.5	30.1

^a Source: The data is taken from the Tenth Malaysia Plan, 2011-2015. Also found in (Gomez & Kaur 2014, 3)

UMNO and the BN's use of developmental programs contributed to strong economic growth in the 1980s (Jomo, Rasiah & Felker 2013). With the emphasis on industrial promotion, the ruling coalition transformed Malaysia from a commodities-producing agricultural economy to one that is well diversified and extremely industrialized. However, this employment of development policies wrapped around selective patronage would eventually embed unproductive and wasteful state-business ties involving major parties in the BN, specifically UMNO. The manner of implementation of these policies would contribute to acute factionalism in UMNO, disputes that would contribute to enormous loss of support during the general elections in 1990, 1999, 2008 and 2013 (Welsh 2004, Pepinsky 2009, Ostwald 2013). By 2009, the need to review the

facilitation of this unique development model would become evident amid growing concerns over a persistent electoral losses.

Najib, (Prime Minister from 2009 to 2018) called for the elimination of “rent-seeking” and spoke of political reforms that allowed for the proper functioning of political parties, including how they would mobilize voters. This did not include institutional oversight, nor was there any mention of amending unfair electoral practices including gerrymandering and malapportionment. UMNO was aware that electoral reform would work against its interests (Slater and Wong 2013), and they subsequently retained control over the Election Commission, the unit that is responsible for ensuring that political parties abide by the conditions under which they were established. This resistance to change was due to the system of patronage used to mobilize voters, which in turn, had contributed to persistent factionalism, a critical factor that threatened its hegemony.⁵⁴

In an attempt to unify Malaysia, Najib used his 1Malaysia slogan to endorse numerous policies to address the lives of the poor in the Malay heartland, in addition to counter domestic outcomes of the 2008 global financial crisis. Najib’s policies, however, would be characterized by race-based initiatives for a number of reasons. Regional cleavages had emerged with hardcore poverty rampant in rural areas in Bumiputera-majority states, including Sabah, Kelantan, Perlis and Kedah, where the opposition had secured a strong presence (Gomez & Kaur 2014). If this collection of policies did not explicitly protect or even promote Bumiputera economic interests, UMNO’s support in rural areas would at risk. Even though regional and social inequities had emerged because of an abuse of provisions within race-based policies of

⁵⁴This is different than opposition party brands. For example, DAP representatives in Penang stated in interviews with the author on September 9th that when faced with evidence of corruption, offending candidates are removed from the party.

the NEP, and were exacerbated by the system of patronage in place, Najib declared an end to “rent-seeking behavior.”

But problems emerged that would undermine Najib’s check on corruption. In spite of the pledge to curb patronage, major projects were selectively privatized. There were a number of corporate scandals that exposed illicit relationships between high-ranking BN politicians and business interests involving government-controlled firms.⁵⁵ Corruption remained rampant, and a key problem in UMNO; one leader in Sabah had reportedly received a RM40 million donation from one individual. Sarawak’s chief minister Taib Mahmud and his family were criticized for having amassed enormous wealth by through the abuse of state resources. Meanwhile, Najib himself was implicated in a scandal involving kickbacks from corporations during the acquisition of military equipment.

Malaysia’s mix of domestic policies, while allowing for significant development during the 1990s, would eventually stall. Heavy industrialization projects involving automobile, steel, and cement production either have failed to develop domestic markets, or have been bought out by foreign manufacturing firms. The failure to incorporate highly enterprising Malaysian-Chinese firms in these sectors was the key reason why his developmental state policies had performed so badly (Jomo, Rasiah & Felker 2013). Meanwhile, privatization through selective patronage, has only contributed to increasing intra-Bumiputera wealth and income inequality, a significant factor for UMNO’s growing loss of Malay support. Affirmative action, though successful in creating an educated Malay middle class, has resulted in considerable misuse of resources in rural areas.

Fractionalization and party feuds due to crony-based patronage severely diminished

⁵⁵These scandals included the Port Klang Free Zone (PKFZ), Sime Darby and National Feedlot Corporation (NFC), enterprises in which the government had a majority stake.

UMNOs institutional strength. Specifically, factionalism between party elites and lower-ranked party members or state-level representatives.⁵⁶ This arose from the pervasiveness of patronage that defined UMNOs brand. First, disputes over the allocation of rents to have resulted in in-fighting between UMNO candidates during elections. Second, party elites prevent younger party members, particularly the well-educated, from ascending UMNO's hierarchy (Gomez & Kaur 2014). These party elites are unwilling to relinquish key party positions for fear of losing access to state and party resources. UMNO, inevitably, re-nominates representatives and state assemblymen with tarnished records, in spite of their proclamations over ending patronage and rent-seeking behavior.

UMNOs party brand – an odd mix of patron-client relationships, affirmative-action, and development policies – eventually loses traction with supporters. This is especially true of middle-class voters in urban areas (Ng, Rangel, Vaithilingam & Pillay 2015). Instead of rebranding itself, and legitimately advocating for free and fair elections, UMNO continues down the same path. This backfires among voters, even party hardliners reject not just UMNO but other parties within the BN. Their brand, once clearly defined, became ineffective. The rising cost of living in Malaysia, alongside rising income gaps between ethnic group, and streams of corruption scandals, the 1MDB scandal being the most prominent, leads to partisan realignment.⁵⁷

Ultimately, I argue that you see a decline in party identification with high levels of electoral volatility because parties do not form clear/strong brands. There are several

⁵⁶Interviews between state representatives in Kedah and Kelantan on January 17th and 24th, 2017 and the author suggest a disparity between party elites and younger party members, or state-level party members. The subjects of these interviews stated they felt "pressured into" using clientelism as a mobilization strategy.

⁵⁷Author interviews with former UMNO, PAS, and DAP representatives find that the 1MDB scandal has a nation-wide effect. While it clearly influences English-speaking, urban voters, it is also a topic of conversation amongst rural voters as well.

dimensions to this. They are unwilling or unable to offer substantial programmatic benefits, and since representatives fight for resources, they are unable to consistently offer the same level of benefits, election to election. They may be able to offer greater monetary benefits for a vote, or a greater amount of patronage in one election, only to be able to offer less the following election. Especially considering the finite amount of goods available to the party. This results in voters – as clients – switching between a core group of parties.

CHAPTER 3

VOTE BUYING AND PARTY COMPETITION: CLIENTELISM IN MALAYSIA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Clientelistic electoral linkages can be characterized “as the proffering of material goods in return for electoral support,” whereas vote buying, a specific subclass of clientelism involves the exchange of goods for votes at the individual level (Stokes 2007, 659).¹ While previous work has found vote buying to be common in the developing world, (Auyero 2001) the measurement of its prevalence is difficult to determine (Gonzalez-Ocantos, De Jonge, Meléndez, Osorio & Nickerson 2012). Because of its relationship to poverty and an incongruence with democratic norms there is an inherent stigma attached to vote buying, and survey questions that directly ask respondents about it are likely subject to substantial levels of measurement error. Therefore standard surveys typically misrepresent the amount of vote buying that occurs (Bradburn, Sudman, Blair & Stocking 1978, DeMaio 1984).

Acknowledging the existence of social desirability bias related to vote buying, researchers have begun to use an unobtrusive survey technique (a list experiment)

¹This is different than a programmatic redistribution of goods where benefits are based upon an investment of public goods in a district (Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007). More importantly, it is necessary to note that I reduce the discussion of clientelism in this paper to vote buying. It is more sensible to focus on vote buying narrowly and to use clientelism and the related literature as a broad foil in the introduction, literature review, and theory sections only.

to measure the prevalence and role of vote buying in Nicaragua (Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. 2012), Mexico (Nichter & Palmer-Rubin 2015), Lebanon (Corstange 2010), Romania and Bulgaria (Mares, Muntean & Petrova 2017), and the Philippines (Hicken et al. 2014). Using a research firm I implemented the same survey technique to measure vote buying during the 13th Malaysian General Election. Using that data, this paper will add to the existing literature on clientelism, specifically addressing how patron-client relationships fit within Malaysian politics along with further exploring how the BN stayed in power and what led to their decline.

As Weiss (2014, 1) argues, “compared to the robust field of studies in neighboring democracies such as the Philippines or Indonesia, the state of this field in Malaysia is weak at best.” Much of the existing literature on electoral politics in Malaysia focuses on election results in single constituency or state (Loh 2001, Brown 2005, Welsh 2004). While there has been recent scholarship on corruption or illiberal democratic policies more broadly during Malaysian elections, much of this is either qualitative in nature or focuses on opaque campaign finance, very little of it focuses on patron-client relationships (Weiss 2006, Weiss 2014, Gomez & Kaur 2014). How does clientelism work in Malaysia, and what does this mean for party competition?

Certainly “money politics” in a vague sense exists in Malaysia (Gomez & Jomo 1999, Weiss 2007, Gomez 2012, Weiss 2014). However, the significance of patron-client relationships, and how they impact Malaysian politics has yet to be sufficiently examined. This paper will quantify the degree of vote buying in Malaysia during the 13th General Election. It will map the social, political, and economic demographics within Malaysia that are most likely to sell their votes. It will further explore how these relationships affect party competition within Malaysia’s party system. Generally speaking then, who do parties target?

While there is some evidence to suggest otherwise, clientelistic political parties

typically target swing voters over core voters (Cox & McCubbins 1986, Dixit & Londregan 1996, Hicken 2011).² The logic is fairly straightforward, using a decentralized network of party brokers and campaign workers, it is easier and more efficient to monitor voters who are on the fence politically.³ Going after hardline supporters is unnecessary because they will support the party regardless, while targeting immovable, loyal opposition supporters is a waste of time and money.

In addition to swing voters, the very definition of clientelism suggests a relationship between vote buying and poverty. Certainly it is easy to conclude that with few exceptions, clientelism is almost exclusively a feature of electoral politics in less advanced democracies. Subsequently, the bulk of the empirical research finds that parties consistently target poor, rural voters in a society (Hicken 2011). They do so because poor voters both value handouts and are more risk averse than wealthier voters (Scott 1969, Kitschelt 2000, Wantchekon 2003). However, Malaysia is not a significantly poor state. How prevalent then is vote buying in Malaysia?

This paper finds that during the 2013 General Election, vote buying occurred approximately 13 percent of the time. Moreover, the findings suggest that Malaysia is largely consistent with the clientelism literature more broadly. During the 2013 General Election, clientelistic parties targeted rural, poor, and uneducated voters more so than wealthy, urban, and educated voters. They targeted Malay voters over other ethnic voting blocs. They likewise targeted swing voters over core supporters. Such relationships have a significant impact on party competition.

²While the majority of the empirical evidence suggests that clientelistic parties target marginal voters over core supporters, there are a few significant findings that suggest otherwise (Weitz-Shapiro 2006, Magaloni 2006). The variation in the results has yet to be explained, and as Stokes (2007) points out, there are both conceptual and methodological issues within the field. Therefore, while it is clear that parties use both strategies to mobilize voters, the exact mix of the two is unclear.

³For a more thorough explanation of the role of brokers, see (Stokes et al. 2013).

The findings imply that clientelism, specifically vote buying, in Malaysia was used to maintain and extend influence of the BN. This largely fits with the existing qualitative research on clientelism in Malaysia. It is difficult then, to discern whether or not the BN was in power because they were truly popular, or simply as a matter of a dense and efficient clientelistic network. Vote buying in this context ultimately suppresses legitimate party competition. It limits an individual's vote to a monetary value, shortcutting democratic representation. However, electoral outcomes of the 14th general election suggest that clientelism may no longer be working for the BN.

3.2 WHO DO PARTIES TARGET?

3.2.1 SWING VS CORE VOTERS

What type of voter do parties target? In what has become the clearest theoretical trend in the literature, Lindbeck & Weibull (1987) proposed a voter model wherein “two parties compete by offering distributive rewards to voters, both will focus on the swing, or ideologically indifferent, voters” (Stokes et al. 2013, 32).⁴ In this case, it makes little sense for a party with limited resources to reward either, already loyal voters, or those who steadfastly support the opposition. However, as Cox & McCubbins (1986) point out, core supporters are more consistent in their responses to rewards than swing voters. Furthermore, that “candidates are generally less uncertain about the electoral responses of support groups than they are about the electoral responses of swing groups” (376).

The foundation of this relationship is that parties will not renege on the distribution

⁴While the general consensus is that representatives offer swing voters, this relationship is not entirely clearly defined. I suspect that politicians, at times, reward core supporters with clientelistic benefits. This is because vote buying and clientelism more broadly are still illegal, and they are less likely to get caught. In any case, loyal voters are rewarded to some degree when the party representative assumes office.

of rewards after an election, and voters will not turn on the party within the privacy of the voting booth. To resolve this uncertainty, Stokes (2005) modeled this as an iterated prisoner's dilemma in which political machines embed themselves within the networks of voters, which in turn allows them to make inferences about electoral behavior, decreasing the secrecy of the ballot. The political machine, in this case, is able to credibly threaten or outright punish voters that renege on the agreement. It is this social embeddedness that requires the role of a broker.⁵

Not only is the party better able to monitor voter behavior through a broker, but they are able to determine with better efficiency the needs of the voter. For example, if the Argentine Justicialist Party (PJ) offers a voter a bag of rice in return for her vote, when she really needs medicine for her children; this is not very efficient. It will likely result in a bargaining failure between this voter and the PJ. However, through the use of a broker, the party is better able to determine what will effectively buy a vote. Parties in this case rely upon the local knowledge, and networks, of brokers. Moreover, brokers are further able to use these networks, and inherent understanding of their neighbor's ideological proximity, to determine who is a swing voter and who is a core voter.

In a perfect world a resource-rich party would continually maintain office. However, this is not the case, and market inefficiency does exist. There is a variable level of competency of the broker. Brokers, at times, make mistakes in offering rewards to voters. Moreover, such competency is revealed to the voter, but not the party leadership. Thus if they are offered identical rewards by different brokers, they are able to choose based upon the individual competency of the broker. Brokers subsequently compete with each other over blocs of voters (Stokes et al. 2013, 76 - 89). Given this

⁵More than just a theoretical argument, this has been proven empirically as well (Cruz 2013)

competition, and that a broker's resources are finite, a broker may or may not be able to offer sufficient rewards to obtain voter loyalty. Considering this, let us examine the role of the swing voter in a clientelistic relationship more carefully.

The swing voter is politically moderate, and "nearly indifferent between parties on the basis of policy positions and traditional loyalties, and are more likely to switch their votes on the basis of particularistic benefits" (Dixit & Londregan 1996, 1148). The emphasis, more on particularistic benefits, and less on ideological or policy position is important. If swing voters in developing democracies are more inclined to vote for a party based upon some particular benefit, it gives an incentive for parties to use clientelistic practices to cultivate voter loyalties. On the other side of the equation, it gives these voters incentives to sell their vote to further some social position, or to mitigate some economic hardship. This makes clientelism, more specifically vote buying, an economic exchange (Schaffer 2002*b*).

3.2.2 CLIENTELISM AND POVERTY

Since vote buying is an economic exchange, poverty is the clearest predictor of clientelism (Stokes 2007, Hicken 2011). Indeed, when making even a cursory examination of instances of clientelism, one cannot help but note that it is almost exclusively (but not entirely) a matter of politics in the developing world.⁶ As the third wave of democratization occurred, these new democracies were collectively poorer than previous waves of democratization. Scholars have studied clientelism everywhere from Latin America (Calvo & Murillo 2004, Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. 2012, Stokes

⁶Vote buying is greater in poorer regions than wealthier regions. Vote buying is also greater in poorer countries within regions. Regional Barometers in both Latin America (2002) and Africa (2005) find that, respectively, 7% and 20% of the population had been offered money for their votes. When comparing incomes for those years, the average GDP per Capita was \$2,800 in Africa and \$7,000 in Latin America (Stokes et al. 2013, 153).

et al. 2013), to Asia (Chandra 2004, Chandra 2007, Hicken et al. 2014), to Africa (Van de Walle & Butler 1999, Wantchekon 2003) and everywhere in between. But why does poverty encourage clientelism? There are two general explanations for this.

Political parties want the largest return for their money, so it makes sense that they would target poor voters over wealthier ones. Not only do parties get more “bang for their buck,” but poor voters appreciate a handout more so than wealthier voters (Calvo & Murillo 2004). As Dixit and Londagren (1996, 1137) state “poor voters switch more readily in response to economic benefits because the incremental dollar matters more to them.” This diminishing marginal utility of income offers the voter a choice between the party with the most appealing program, or one that offers the greatest material benefit. From purely a material standpoint, nothing is at stake for the voter trading his or her vote. His or her vote matters little for the outcome, and programmatic goods will be distributed regardless. Thus, it makes sense to accept money or goods for a vote, no matter the value.

Likewise, poor voters are unable to wait for long-term material goods, and therefore prefer direct and immediate handouts over policy change or programmatic goods in the future (Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007). As Kitschelt explains, “poor and uneducated citizens discount the future, rely on short causal chains, and prize instant advantages such that the appeal of direct, clientelist exchanges always trumps that of indirect, programmatic linkages promising uncertain and distant rewards to voters” (Kitschelt 2000, 827).⁷

In contrast, wealthier voters have enough assets to be indifferent to clientelistic

⁷Recent work from one study has cast doubt on this explanation. Brusco, Nazareno, and Stokes (2006) show that poor Argentines were certainly more risk averse than were their wealthier compatriots. However, risk aversion had no independent effect on one’s propensity to sell one’s vote. Furthermore, when comparing two equally poor voters, the more risk-averse one was no more likely to sell her vote than was the less risk-averse one

offers and subsequently prefer programmatic parties over clientelistic ones.⁸ The role of the middle class in the advent of democracy also has foundations in both classical and more contemporary political theory. Aristotle (1996, 107 - 108) argues that the middle class is critical to democracy. More contemporary work argues that the middle class demands democracy (Lipset 1959, Dahl 1973, Brandi & Büge 2014, Glassman 2016).⁹ This has several theoretical implications. Wealthier, urban voters will be less likely to accept a party's monetary offer and parties will consequently be more likely to target poor, rural voters. More to the point, they will likely target the most marginalized of voters. However, with a 2013 GDP per Capita of \$10,288, Malaysia is certainly not a poor nation. How then does it fit within this literature?

3.3 ELECTORAL POLITICS IN MALAYSIA

Malaysia has been a parliamentary system since independence in 1957 (with the addition of Sabah and Sarawak in 1963). While Malaysia has been relatively stable throughout its political history (with the exception of a state of emergency as the result of electoral violence from 1969 - 71), Malaysia has never been completely democratic. While elections regularly occur, they are not completely free and fair, and civil liberties such as freedom of speech, press, and association are routinely curtailed (Zakaria 1989, Case 1993, Weiss 2014). With this in mind, Malaysia is better classified

⁸Wilson & Banfield (1963, 106) Came to the conclusion this is how clientelistic party machines declined at the end of the 19th century United States.

⁹There is empirical support for this as well. The Latinobarometer survey from 2008, finds that Latin Americans who perceive themselves as being middle-class are the strongest supporters of democracy. A study conducted by the Pew Research Center (2009) also finds support for the thesis that members of the middle class regard democratic values, among others, as being particularly important. According to the study, compared to the poor, members of the middle class – defined as persons having an annual income greater than US \$4,268 in PPP terms (circa US \$12 a day) – view democratic institutions and individual liberties such as honest elections and free speech as being more important (Brandi & Büge 2014, 52).

as a “semi-democratic” system or a “hybrid regime”, in line with Levitsky and Way’s (2010) competitive authoritarianism. As a part of this system, gerrymandering is widely and consistently used to successfully increase the number of ethnically Malay electoral districts (Lee 2013, Weiss 2014).¹⁰

This gerrymandering and malapportionment – along ethnic or communal lines – reflects the primary cleavage structures existing within Malaysian society.¹¹ Although there is variation at the sub-national level, Malaysia’s population is made up of 67% Bumiputera (Malay and indigenous populations), 25% Chinese, 7% Indian, and 1% “other”.¹² Party politics are indeed structured around such ethnicities, with a coalition of parties, the Barisan Nasional (BN or National Front) dominating Malaysia’s electoral space since independence (Pepinsky 2009). This multiparty coalition is made up of the United Malay National Organization (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), with approximately ten smaller parties mostly representing Sabah and Sarawak. In reality all parties within the BN are subservient to UMNO, and depend upon the party to win seats in the legislature (Gomez & Kaur 2014).¹³ These primary parties, with UMNO holding a hegemonic position within the BN, are firmly entrenched in Malaysian society (Mauzy 2013).

Coalitions are a necessary part of Malaysian politics. They must appeal to voters within other ethnic groups, for example a Malay candidate must be able to appeal to a Chinese voter even when such voters vote along ethnic lines. The BN as a coalition has

¹⁰Gerrymandering is conceptualized as the opportunistic demarcating of constituency to favor one party over another.

¹¹In Malaysia, as Gomez (1998) points out, when electoral districts are averaged across Malaysia, one rural vote is worth two urban votes.

¹²Eastern Malaysia is made up of approximately 30% Iban in Sarawak and 25% in Kadazandusun Sabah.

¹³This is with the exception of the Parti Bersaka Bumiputera Bersatu, (PBB) the major political party in Sarawak.

been incredibly successful in occupying Malaysia's electoral space, more so than other multiethnic coalitions in parliamentary systems (Weiss 2014). From 1957 to 2008, (with the exception of the 1969 election) the BN has held a two-thirds majority in the federal parliament, along with control of nearly every legislature at the state level. In 2008, the BN lost its supermajority along with five state legislatures. Opposition coalitions have come and gone over the course of Malaysia's electoral history. The current opposition coalition, formed in 2008, is both the most enduring and most effective.

This coalition (informally known as the Pakatan Rakyat) is made up of the Democratic Action Party (DAP), Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR), and the Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS). In 2013 the opposition coalition won the popular vote 50.8% to 47.38%, along with 40% of the seats in the federal legislature, and control of four state legislatures. While the BN held onto a majority, there were a significant number of protests, and cries of electoral fraud were widespread. Under these circumstances, as Crouch states, "the Malaysian electoral system [has been] so heavily loaded in favor of the government that it is hard to imagine that the ruling coalition, as long as it remained united, could be defeated in an election."¹⁴ Yet in the 2018 election, the BN suffers a surprising and considerable defeat.

In 2015 the Pakatan Rakyat reformed as the Pakatan Harapan (PH). The 14th general election in 2018 saw a massive defeat of the BN. The PH won 47.33% of the popular vote. More importantly, the PH won a simple majority of seats in the Dewan Rakyat, with 113 seats. With the addition of the Sabah Heritage Party having won another 8 seats and the United Sabah Alliance, winning one seat, two independents informally aligned with PH, this gives the opposition alliance a total of 122 seats in

¹⁴The quote is taken directly from Case (2013, 121) with the original source being Harold Crouch's unpublished manuscript.

the new Parliament, enough to form a government.¹⁵ Conversely, the BN won 36.42% of the vote and 79 seats, a loss of 54 from the previous election.¹⁶

For both the BN and the opposition coalition, elections are extremely expensive.¹⁷ Candidates are only allowed to spend no more than 200,000 MYR in parliamentary elections or 100,000 MYR in state assembly elections. Moreover, financial reports are not audited on a consistent basis, and many candidates – particularly from the BN – spend considerably more than allowed. Likewise, party expenses are not well accounted for, and the BN has a major resource advantage in comparison to the opposition.¹⁸ In addition to a financial advantage, the BN have a monopoly on media as well. UMNO owns *Utusan Malaysia*, the MCA owns *The Star*, and the MIC owns several Indian newspapers (Ufen 2013, 3). This broadly suggests that money and influence are a critical part of elections in Malaysia.¹⁹

More than just campaign financing, money politics plays out at the ground level as well. The most recognizable facet of the 2013 elections in Malaysia is that, “a

¹⁵There were several allegations of vote buying during the election. Bersih, a group of NGOs that advocates for electoral reform pointed out that several BN candidates were publicly reprimanded for handing out food, petrol, and other goods in their respective districts. Likewise, PAS candidates were seen handing out money to religious leaders in Kalantan (*Bersih Media Statement* 2018).

¹⁶For a visual description of the electoral outcomes in the 2004, 2008, 2013, and 2018 elections, see Appendix A

¹⁷More on this point, elections in Malaysia have historically been called rather abruptly, leaving poorly funded opposition parties and candidates with little opportunity to develop effective campaign strategies. Meanwhile, BN parties hold mass rallies, disguising them as official addresses, relying heavily upon the use of government workers and state funds, facilities, and equipment during their campaigning (Gomez 1998, 266).

¹⁸The issue of how money politics and campaign finance has shaped both electoral outcomes and internal relationships within the BN been discussed more openly in recent years. As former Prime Minister Mahathir has stated publicly, “The UMNO I led before was quite powerful. Look at the assemblies, the spirit. The UMNO today is about money. Leaders in UMNO are loyal because they get something – the contracts. All the office holders receive money” (Welsh 2016, 225)

¹⁹While the opposition owns several newspapers as well, they are not widely circulated. Television and radio sources are also biased in favor of the BN (Ufen 2013).

substantial proportion of Malaysian voters – across regions, communities, and classes – want a politician whom they know and who knows them” (Weiss 2014, 8). While this varied in practice at the sub-national level, both candidates and voters expect a “personal touch” as part of the relationship, and as Scott (1972, 8) argues, this defines a classical patron-client relationship. While Weiss (2014) argues that vote buying is not as observable, patronage more broadly is an overt and significant part of relationships between voters and representatives in Malaysian politics. However, vote buying and patron-client relationships as part of Malaysian politics require further understanding.

Beyond vote buying, patronage in Malaysian politics can be looked at from two different perspectives, at the macro and micro levels. At the micro level, representatives and campaign workers would hand out food and housing items to poor voters during a campaign, in particular rice, cooking oil, or transportation vouchers to travel to and from the polling stations.²⁰ In some cases these transportation vouchers were given to voters as rewards for voting for the party. At times, though, they were also given indiscriminately to both loyal and swing voters alike.

At the macro level, patronage includes development projects (e.g. hospitals, bridges, and universities) that are almost exclusively offered by BN politicians. These projects signal an ability of the representative to understand and deliver on local voters preferences. This type of patronage also encourages voters to measure success of the party in a developmental context, opposed to some other metric, for example good governance (Loh 2001). Poor voters in rural parts of Malaysia have in the past seemed to emphasize developmental and local politics over national issues of corruption and transparency. Such preferences heavily favor the BN, with their resource advantage,

²⁰This type of aid at the individual level is not limited to just perishable goods. In some cases, representatives gave assistance to voters whose homes were damaged by a storm.

over the opposition.

Such developmental and redistributive policies led to significant growth in the 1990s and has been a cornerstone of the BN platform, helping them to continually maintain power since 1974. However, these policies contained provisions for wasteful and inefficient patronage systems with direct ties to the BN, specifically UMNO (Gomez & Jomo 1999). The implementation of these programs led to significant fractionalization within UMNO, which contributed to a enormous loss of support during the 1990, 1999, 2008, and 2013 elections (Welsh 2004, Pepinsky 2009b, Ostwald 2013).²¹ After the 1999 election, this led to UMNO leadership attempting to restructure their developmental model in an effort to regain support by rural voters. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (prime minister from 2003 to 2009) further advocated for liberalizing civil liberties and curbing the patronage and corruption that was embedded in the the BN.

Badawi attempted to please rural constituents by emphasizing agricultural sectors of Malaysia's economy, and urban ones by limiting corruption. As a result, the BN fared remarkably well during the 2004 election, winning 90% of the parliament and 64% of the popular vote.²² They won control of rural areas previously lost to PAS in the 1999 election. They also maintained support from urban middle-class voters. Because of the electoral outcome, UMNO and the BN therefore saw no need to curb rent-seeking behavior, subsequently failing to develop effective political reforms to combat corruption and oversee functioning of political parties. Likewise, UMNO's shift in development models to alleviate poverty in rural areas was equally ineffective. This left poor, rural Malays in the same predicament as before, with the same system of

²¹During the 2008 and 2013 elections PAS campaigned on mismanagement of development projects by state-level BN representatives.

²²While they would have a far better outcome in 2008 and 2013 elections, the opposition saw a massive setback during the 2004 elections. PAS retained only 7 of its 27 seats. They lost control of Terengganu and only maintained control of Kelantan by a single seat.

patronage firmly embedded in BN practices.

Most of the poor, rural population in Malaysia are Malays (Ng et al. 2015). Furthermore, Malays (and by extension the Bumiputera) are the poorest of the three major ethnic groups in Malaysia. In 2009 the average Chinese household had 1.38 times and 1.25 times as much income as Bumiputera and the Indian population respectively. Likewise, the median financial assets of a Bumiputera household is only 1RM, while the median financial assets for a Chinese household is 2,135RM (Khalid 2014, 120-121). This is in part due to the failures of the National Economic Plan (NEP) implemented after the 1969 electoral violence (Ali 2015). Meanwhile, UMNO has taken efforts to not only win elections in rural Malaysia, but dominate rural society.²³ While they lost the 1959 and 1999 state elections in Kelantan and Terengganu to PAS, using developmentalism as a platform, UMNO and the Barisan Nasional has largely controlled rural areas of Malaysian political space for the last six decades. Keeping the resource advantage and developmentalist ideology of the BN in mind, and given both the social class of rural Malays as well as the relationship between clientelism and poverty, there are the following two hypothesis.

H1: Malays are more likely to sell their vote than other ethnic groups.

H2: The BN is more likely to buy votes than the opposition coalition.

While there is certainly variation both between states and electoral cycles, the BN has done well campaigning in rural parts of both Eastern and Northern Malaysia. The 1999 General Election is summarized by Loh & Saravanamuttu (2003, 176) “as a poll between the politics of developmentalism – improved material standards of living, rapid economic growth and stability assumed by many that only the BN could

²³In 1970 they established the Social Development Division in an attempt to promote development at the local level in a manner consistent with UMNOs agenda (Welsh 2016).

provide – and the politics of reform in the direction of intangibles like rule of law.” Furthermore, patronage in this context is not limited to just development projects. It also includes the distribution of state assistance as well.²⁴

The distribution of government assistance such as BR1M have also been an effective campaign strategy for the Barisan Nasional, especially among the rural and lower income groups of its constituency. The BN’s success in rural areas suggests a support base that is more open to clientelist relationships. It is through these relationships that the BN – using government assistance programs - distributes patronage to voters.²⁵ BN representatives and campaign workers in rural areas claimed that if the opposition took power, voters would not be able to enjoy the benefits of government assistance programs. However, preferences are different among urban voters, and such state assistance programs are largely irrelevant with these voters.

With the development of a robust middle-class, there have been shifting preferences among urban voters in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor (Loh & Saravanamuttu 2003, Ufen 2009, Ng et al. 2015).²⁶ These voters are increasingly demanding national-level programmatic appeals (e.g. education and housing reform). They further demand greater democratic electoral reform, electoral transparency, and better representation within parliament. Indeed, the results of both the 2008 and 2013 elections saw middle-class Selangor voters of all ethnic groups completely rejected the BN on basis

²⁴BR1M or “Bantuan Rakyat 1 Malaysia” is the best example of this. It is an unconditional cash handout program developed through the Prime Minister’s office. In practice it is non-partisan, however, its distribution through party offices such as the BN headquarters in Sitiawan and Kota Kinablu during the campaign points to the likelihood that it is being used as patronage opposed to purely a bureaucratic transaction.

²⁵For example, the BN sweep of Rembau, Negeri Sembilan suggests that their use of targeted state assistance programs and developmental promises directed toward rural voters is effective.

²⁶In part, due to the NEP, the Malaysian middle-class has grown substantially in the last twenty years, in particular the Malay middle-class (Aziz 2012). While the middle-class has yet to consolidate, and ethnicity is still the dominant cleavage, this has impacted electoral outcomes, resulting in UMNO and PAS vying for the urban Malay-Muslim voting bloc (Noor 2004).

of a lack of transparency and overall corruption. This suggests that money is not an insurmountable electoral advantage.²⁷

One can assume that unlike poor voters in rural Malay villages in peninsular Malaysia or indigenous populations in East Malaysia, cash handout programs or general state assistance is of no interest to urban middle-class voters. These voters are also unlikely to be interested in clientelistic exchanges or patronage more generally. Moreover, urban middle-class Chinese and Malay voters would be more inclined to see cash handout programs and state assistance as abuse of tax revenue, and patronage as incongruent with democracy. In fact, instead of accepting money from parties or the government, qualitative evidence from the last election found that Chinese and Malay middle-class voters are more likely to donate money to a campaign (Weiss 2014). From this, one can then form the following two hypotheses.

H3: Vote Buying is more likely to appeal to lower income voters than higher income voters.

H4: Vote Buying is more likely to appeal to rural voters than urban voters.

3.4 NON-CLIENTS AND THE MIDDLE-CLASS

I argue that when the middle-class is sufficiently large, voters will reject clientelistic offers. When this happens, changes in party competition will occur.²⁸ How does evolutions of clientelism cause party system change? If changes in voter preferences is what drives changes in clientelistic practices, we should see differences in voter

²⁷For example, despite a well financed political machine, and a significant resource advantage, the BN only won Titiwangsa by 866 votes in the last election.

²⁸I view changes in the party system as a sustained increase in party competition over time. In contrast to other theories of party system change, this happens at the micro-level, when voters reject clientelism and linkages between voters and parties shift.

attitudes across both time and income groups. Consider the previous illustration of the PRI in Mexico. As wealth increases, the middle class develops, and the incumbent party struggles to mobilize voters.²⁹ In this situation, the voter and the party broker cannot agree to a price. If this event happens often enough, and voters continually look to their outside option, a challenging party assumes office.³⁰ Keep in mind, this does not explain why new parties would enter into the political arena, merely how the deficiencies of clientelism allow for the opposition to win seats and for systemic change to occur. While the theoretical perspective best offers leverage in explaining party system change with dominant or hegemonic parties, it also illuminates the changing relationship between a party and different demographics.

At what point does the opposition party offer a credible alternative to the incumbent party? It is necessary for there to be dissatisfaction with the incumbent party (Tavits 2008). This dissatisfaction in a mature democracy, stems from an ideological or policy-based disjunction between the electorate and the party. I argue however, in a new democracy, where parties are more personalistic and less ideological, this dissatisfaction is largely due to clientelistic relationships between voters and party

²⁹Why is Malaysia useful in this regard? The Malaysian middle-class (and the economy more broadly) grew substantially at the end of the 20th century. Between 1990 and 2000, the Malaysian economy was transformed at that point, from an agricultural economy to an newly industrialized market economy. This is even with the 1997 Asian market collapse. By 1999, nominal per capita GDP had reached \$3,238. New foreign and domestic investment played a significant role in the transformation of Malaysia's economy. Manufacturing grew from 13.9% of GDP in 1970 to 30% in 1999, while agriculture and mining which together had accounted for 42.7% of GDP in 1970, dropped to 9.3% and 7.3%, respectively. By the end of that same time period, manufacturing accounted for 30% of GDP. Major products include electronic components – Malaysia is one of the world's largest exporters of semiconductor devices – electrical goods and appliances. From 1988 to 1996, Malaysia's economy expanded at 8 percent, the second fastest after China, resulting in manufactured goods such as microchips and semiconductors making up 80 per cent of exports. Per capita income doubled from 1990 to 1996. Infrastructure projects were greatly increased in this time.

³⁰When do politicians opt out of clientelism? Weitz-Shapiro (2012) argues that they do so when political competition is low and poverty is also low.

representatives.³¹ These relationships, whether good or bad, are particularly magnified at a local level, between voters and party brokers, and can quickly determine the amount of support a party receives.

Stokes et al (2013) offer the clearest theoretical explanation of the role of the broker in patron-client relationships. As the authors argue, there are clear informational challenges (i.e. who to target, their preferences and behaviors, etc) when distributing clientelistic benefits to voters at the local level. This requires the use of a broker. Brokers act as party representatives, or intermediaries, “who provide targeted benefits and solve problems for their followers; in exchange, they request followers’ participation in political activities such as rallies - and often demand their vote” (75). This repeated interaction allows them to understand who is willing to sell their vote, and for what price.

This makes brokers critical to patron-client relationships. Indeed, because clientelism is a *quid pro quo* exchange – where goods are conditional upon votes – and monitoring of voters is required to complete the exchange, brokers are essential. It is brokers who are embedded in the social networks, who provide local knowledge to the political party, that distribute benefits to targeted voters. For example, parties depend on brokers to act as intermediaries when mobilizing ideologically indifferent swing voters. Certainly the only way for parties to understand the preferences and behaviors of those voters willing to sell their votes, is through the use of brokers.

Brokers are locally powerful individuals who use their resources and influence to develop clients. In this manner, they collect votes for parties by building large blocs or networks of voters willing to accept targeted benefits over ideological ones. This is where both competency of the broker in building voter blocs plays out. A

³¹Kitschelt (2000) argues that declining relevance of ideology in party competition will lead into reappearance of clientelistic links at the grass-roots level.

competent broker knows their neighbors, “and they are able to solve their neighbors’ problems effectively because they know who needs what (Stokes et al. 2013, 93). This allows a broker to cultivate a network of clients that is a mix of ideological loyal, ideologically neutral, and even opposing voters. Party leaders subsequently evaluate the competency of a broker by the size of their block of clients – how well they are able to collect votes.

A good relationship between a voter and a competent broker allows the broker to efficiently buy votes from critical (i.e. poor) voters. Moreover, a party broker that is viewed as competent by local voters, is further likely to buy votes more efficiently. The voter’s understanding of a respective broker’s competency is greater, and they expect to receive the maximum amount for their vote. It is important to note the following. At a broader level, if the broker is able to develop a large bloc of voters; and if the party machine is financially established with numerous brokers at their disposal, there is the increased potential for a dominant party to develop. Therefore, it seems that if clientelism is extremely high, and you have a well embedded political machine, with particularly competent brokers, a potentially stable dominant party system develops.³²

However, consider if the opposite is true. If you have a situation where voters have a poor relationship with party brokers, this unknowingly causes problems for the incumbent party. The individual relationships between different brokers and voters within their districts is certainly not constant. First, since vote buying is inefficient time wise, and voters want to maximize what they receive for their vote, they are less likely to sell votes to a broker they do not view as competent. The level of competency is how voters determine the probability they receive the highest utility from selling

³²Consider for example, Tammany Hall in 19th century New York City. Or the previous example of the PRI.

their vote. While the broker may be able to successfully secure votes from the poorest of voters, where the threshold for accepting an offer is lower, they would be unable to secure votes from those voters that are even marginally better off financially. In this framework, you are likely to see outright bargaining failure between the two. This eventually results in the wealthier voter looking to an alternative party.

When does this opposing party consistently make an attractive alternative to a middle class voter? Based on retrospective voting, “electoral success of new parties depends on the extent of voter disappointment – both in terms of poor representation and poor performance – with the existing parties” (Tavits 2008, 115).³³ The middle class in this case is disappointed with the party in government, and subsequently looks to an alternative party. Obviously economic voting is a part of this.³⁴ More than that, previous scholarship has shown that voters are more willing to punish a party, than reward it (Pacek & Radcliff 1995, Tavits 2008). In such a situation the developing middle class would be in a position to punish the governing party for its inability to make a compelling offer.

Therefore, social class is the driver that pushes for electoral reform. Indeed, democracy, government accountability, and the rule of law are, after all, demands characteristically articulated by burgeoning entrepreneurs and middle classes. They are typically considered the architects of modernization. More to the point, election reform in many countries around the world has been an undertaking of the middle and (sometimes) upper classes - from the progressives in the early 20th century United States to the urban middle classes of Taiwan, Mexico, Thailand, South Korea, and

³³One might ask, why does the incumbent party not distribute public goods in order to secure votes, and thus hold an advantage over opposition parties. Public goods are distributed to an entire district, to both loyal supporters, and those of the opposition. Whereas clientelism is an individual exchange targeting specific supporters.

³⁴See Lewis (2000) and Tucker (2006).

the Philippines today. The targets of reform, in contrast, are often the poor. This has several theoretical implications. That wealthier, urban voters will be less likely to be offered, let alone accept a party's monetary offer. Second, that parties will consequently be more likely to target poor, rural voters. More to the point, they will likely target the most marginalized of voters. Consider the role of the middle-class in the Filipino politics, where vote buying is a considerable aspect of electoral politics.

Social class is an important and very real social cleavage to most Filipinos. Nonetheless, it can be difficult to discern class boundaries in the Philippines (Turner 1995). Typically classes are divided into five groups in the Philippines – labeled A,B,C,D,E – and delineated by wealth and lifestyle (Schaffer 2005). Class A are the “super rich.” They include hacienda owners and chief executives. Class B are the “normal rich,” for example high ranking government officials, medium-sized farm owners, and professional classes. Class C is the middle class. It includes people who lead comfortable, but not luxurious, lives. This includes small farm or business owners, mid-level management, and municipal officials. Class D is the lower class. Their households have some comforts, but they basically live a hand-to-mouth existence. They tend to be farm tenants, blue collar workers, or low paid white collar workers. This also includes taxi drivers, or small shop owners in public markets. Class E are those people who face great difficulties in meeting their basic needs. They might be street vendors, farm hands, or manual laborers. They may also be unemployed or hold irregular jobs (Laquian & Laquian 1998, 111–112).³⁵ Estimates of social classes within the Philippines using these designations vary somewhat. Depending on the survey, classes A, B, and C - the middle and upper classes - together make up between 7 and 11% of the population, class D between 58 and 73%, and class E between 18 and 32%

³⁵People in urban areas, for example Manila, understand these categories enough to identify where they fit within them.

(Schaffer 2002*a*, 4).³⁶

Together, these classes are not often decisive when determining electoral outcomes. Whoever wins the vote of the D and E classes typically wins the election. Such was the (successful) strategy of presidential candidate Joseph “Erap” Estrada, who ran in 1998 on the platform of “Erap para sa Mahirap.” (Erap for the poor). He won 38% of the class D vote and 48% of the class E vote, largely without the support of ABC voters, of whom only 23% cast their ballots for him. Going into the election Estrada knew he did not need their votes, and did not spend campaign resources trying to mobilize them. Some middle class and upper middle class voters had reportedly said they would leave the country if Estrada were to win. His reply, broadcast on national television, was that “they can start packing” (Laquian & Laquian 1998, 111). Even politics within Makati City - the wealthy financial center of the Philippines - is determined largely by the vote of the poor. When Mayor Jejomar Binay’s bid for reelection in 1995 was opposed by Makati’s wealthy voters he responded disdainfully that “you only compromise five percent of the people here, and when it comes to votes, yours don’t matter, we can even do without counting them” (Gloria 1995, 83). His assessment was correct, and he won (Schaffer 2002*a*, 4).

Relatedly, recent work has shown that clientelism and vote buying specifically are a part of bigger strategies used by candidates in the Philippines. Vote buying tactics (the most prevalent forms used more benign goods such as food and clothing, but offers of money were not uncommon) were used to obtain the loyalty and dependency of their poor constituencies (Canare, Mendoza & Lopez 2018). I suspect this leaves the

³⁶There are certainly other ways that Filipinos determine social class. Class is, after all, in part a cultural construct. It obviously has something to do with wealth or one’s place in the economy. But it is also constructed out of shared values and commitments. When speaking about wealth, speakers of Tagalog could also distinguish between “mayayaman” (the rich) from “mahihirap” (the poor). When speaking of politics and social order they might differentiate “elitista” (elites) from “masa” (masses) (Schaffer 2002*a*, 4-5).

Filipino middle and upper middle classes largely feeling frustrated with the nature of electoral politics in the Philippines. Extrapolating from this, it makes sense they would be advocates for electoral change.³⁷ Where does this leave clientelism in Malaysia?

3.5 A LIST EXPERIMENT IN MALAYSIA

Obtaining accurate and truthful responses to sensitive survey questions is a significant methodological challenge in contemporary political science research. Asking substantive questions about issues similar to clientelism can lead to significant biases due to dishonest responses. Even seemingly harmless questions about individual voter turnout are known to result in inaccurate answers due to the perceived consequences in answering them (Blair, Imai & Lyall 2014). In some situations, most notably conflict settings, the use of direct questions may even endanger both interviewers and participants, in addition to yielding inaccurate measurements (Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. 2012). The list experiment is able to avoid this outcome.

Using a Malaysian research firm I implemented a list experiment in Malaysia from December of 2016 to February of 2017.³⁸ The experiment randomizes a sample of participants into control and treatment groups. A question is presented along with a list of the following four non-sensitive items to the control group:

I am going to read you a list that mentions various activities, and I would like for you to tell me if they were carried out during the last electoral campaign. Please, DO NOT tell me which ones, only HOW MANY.

³⁷Beyond that of the Philippines, the role of the middle class in the decline of clientelism, and the advent of democratization more generally is somewhat different. Modernization theory aside, the 1997 economic crisis and the effectiveness of political leadership made a significant contribution to the role of the middle-class in democratization in Southeast Asia. As Case (2013) argues, “more often than lineal patterns of growth, steep crisis has aroused middle-class interest in democracy – and less for the intrinsic joy of participation than for fear of losing their hard won statuses” (249).

³⁸The entire survey is found in Appendix A.

You read or watched news about politics;
You talked about politics with other people
Candidates visited your home or workplace;
You worked on a campaign;

The treatment group is given this same question and list with the following item added, the sensitive item of interest to the researcher:

You were given a gift/money or someone did you a favor

Participants are then asked to count the number of items on their list that fit certain criteria. The question does not ask participants to reveal to the interviewer the specific activities; they only have to tell the interviewer how many activities were carried out. Consequently, the question provides the participant with a high level of privacy since the interviewer is unable to discern which activities the respondent indicates. Because participants intuitively understand this anonymity, the social costs associated with answering accurately should be substantially reduced, providing less reason to give inaccurate responses when asked sensitive questions.

Since participants are randomly assigned to the treatment and control groups, the two groups will, on average, be identical in regards to both observable and unobservable characteristics. Thus, an estimate of the proportion of participants receiving money or a favor can be obtained easily by comparing the mean number of items indicated by the participants in each group to the list experiment question. If vote buying does not occur, there would be no difference in the mean number of items reported (Blair et al 2012). Systematic differences in the means provide a point estimate on the number of people reporting vote buying activities (Gonzalez-Ocantos et al. 2012, 204 - 206).³⁹

³⁹For example, if the average number of items indicated by the control group is 3.50 and the average number of items indicated by the treatment group is 3.75, there is a difference of 0.25. One can conclude that 25 percent of participants received money or a favor.

Because the respondent is correct in assuming that interviewers cannot determine whether they personally received money or a favor, until recently, there were clear limitations to the list experiment (Corstange 2009, 49). Their main drawback is a potential loss of statistical efficiency due to the aggregation of responses. Furthermore, it also only allowed for group analysis, so researchers could not understand the demarcations of vote buying at the individual level. For example, the experiment would only be able to illuminate whether parties target women rather than men, or whether poor or middle class voters are targeted, opposed to individual level estimations.

Recently, researchers have been able to explore multivariate relationships between individual characteristics of respondents and their responses to the sensitive information (Blair & Imai 2012, 50). Imai (2011) and Blair and Imai (2012) successfully conduct a multivariate regression analysis using data obtained from a list experiment. Using Imai’s estimator, one can derive the exact likelihood function, opposed to an approximate one. This improves the efficiency of list experiments. Moreover, using this estimator one can “assume that the addition of sensitive items does not alter responses to the control items and that the response for each sensitive item is truthful” (Blair & Imai 2012, 56).

3.6 LIST EXPERIMENT RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Before I analyze the results, I first evaluate the design of the list experiment. There are two assumptions to consider: the first assumption is no design effects and the second assumption is no floor or ceiling effects. A list experiment is considered to have a design effect when an individual’s response to the non-sensitive items changes depending on whether or not the sensitive item is present. For the list experiment difference-in-means estimate to be valid, the mean for support for the non-sensitive

items must be the same on average across treatment and control (Imai 2011). Following Blair and Imai (2012), I use the List package in R to test for such effects. The p-value on this test is 0.59, so I cannot reject the null hypothesis of no design effect. It therefore appears the experiment did not violate assumption 1.

Floor or ceiling effects are when the mean is close to 0 or 5. When looking at the data presented in Table 3.1 on the following page, it appears that I was able to avoid violating assumption 2. First, the potential for floor and ceiling effects appears to be quite small. Out of the 500 survey respondents in the control group, only 7.8% said zero activities were carried out in the last election and only 4.40% said that four categories were carried out. Additionally, the modal response to my set of non-sensitive items was just under two, with approximately 52% of the respondents in the control group providing that number.

Table 3.1: Summary Values for List Experiment Data

List Items Response Value	Control Group		Treatment Group	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
0	39	7.80	42	8.27
1	106	21.20	112	22.05
2	257	51.40	233	45.87
3	76	15.20	71	13.98
4	22	4.40	24	4.72
5	-	-	26	5.11
Total	500		508	

^a This table displays the number and percentage of respondents for each value of Y, the number of items that the respondent supports in the list experiment, for both the control and treatment group.

It is also important to also determine whether there is balance among demographic covariates across the treatment and control groups. The randomization analysis indicates that in the overall the treatment and control groups are well balanced in all covariates.

The T-tests in Table 3.2 below shows that, in general, the means of the both groups are indistinguishable from each other. Given this result, I can move forward in the analysis.

Table 3.2: Difference in Means Test for Sensitive Item

	Control Items		Treatment Item		Difference in Means	
	Est.	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE
Sample	1.872	(.04)	2.002	(.05)	0.130	(.06)**
N	500		508			

^a * p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

The difference of means between the control and treatment, shown in Table 3.3 on the following page, are statistically significant. While fairly wide, the 95 percent confidence interval is between 0.01 percent and 25.9 percent. Thus, one can safely conclude that vote buying happens within the sample 13 percent of the time. This supports the first hypothesis that vote buying is a significant part of the 13th Malaysian general election. The subgroup analysis, where I calculate the difference of means for each demographic within variables can be found in Appendix A.

There are two maximum likelihood models used in the paper, found in Tables 3.4 and 3.5, one with the constraint $h_0(y; x, 0) = h_1(y; x, 1)$ and the other without it. Substantively, this constraint implies that a respondent's answer to the sensitive item is not correlated with their answer to the control items after adjusting for the pretreatment variables (Imai 2011 p 411). The coefficients in the sensitive item column are coefficients that predict whether someone will answer yes to the sensitive item in the list experiment (i.e., they accepted money or a favor for their vote). These can be thought of as showing the demographic correlates of those that affirm clientelism without any potential social desirability effects. The coefficients in the control items columns predict the manner in which a respondent will answer the non-sensitive items.

The use of ordinal or nominal variables as independent variables warrants special

attention here. Imai's (2011) estimator treats these variables similarly to a logistic regression model. This is to say, a factor variable is treated as a categorical variable, although if it is a numerical variable; it treats it as a continuous variable. Termed the proportional odds assumption, it is quite common to treat such variables as continuous, or, more precisely, as having interval-level measurement with linear effects. The advantage of this approach is that interpretation is simple; yet, it requires making the strong assumption that categories of the ordinal variable are equally spaced (O'Connell 2006).

Although, even variables with interval-level coding do not necessarily have linear effects, and it is often questionable to believe that the categories are equally spaced. Tests of this assumption nearly always result in its rejection, particularly when the sample size is large, (Clogg & Shihadeh 1994) the number of independent variables is large, (Brant 1990), or there is a continuous explanatory variable in the model (Allison 1999). It is then necessary to examine the data using separate tests for each independent variable of interest, in this case, the income and education variables.

To test the proportional odds assumption, otherwise known as the parallel regression assumption, I use a Likelihood-Ratio Test for both variables in the control and treatment data. The Likelihood-Ratio Test results in an insignificant p-value (.129) for the variables in the control data. However, the test results in a significant p-value (.008) for both the variables in question within the treatment data, suggesting we should not treat either of these variables linearly.⁴⁰ Typically this would require the use of a different model, one that relaxes the proportional odds assumption; however, this would negate the advantages of Imai's model. To address this issue, I dummy apart both the income and education variables, and include theoretically important aspects of each variable in the statistical models.

⁴⁰The other variables had insignificant Likelihood-Ratio Tests.

I include, as two separate dummy variables, those respondents that have a primary education and those that have a Bachelor's degree. Education is compulsory in Malaysia, and the majority of voters in Malaysia have a primary education; although, voters with a Bachelor's Degree are more likely to be middle-class in Malaysia. I also include, as a dummy variable, respondents with an income between 2,000 and 5,000 ringgit per month. This covers the 2014 median income for Malaysia, and likely represents voters that are solidly working class and fringe middle-class, and are not at risk for food or housing insecurity, but neither are they financially secure. I also include dummy variables for ethnicity, religion, and gender.

In these models, a positive coefficient means someone is more likely to sell their vote, whereas a negative coefficient means they are less likely. In looking at the results more closely, it appears that clientelism in Malaysia generally conforms to the broader literature on the topic.⁴¹ Parties, specifically the BN coalition, target poor, under-educated, rural Malay voters.⁴² This can be seen in the full breakdown of the

⁴¹This is with the exception of party affiliation. While party affiliation is not included in the statistical model due to correlation with coalition support, when examining the subgroups, it is those with no party affiliation that are more likely to sell their votes. This makes me consider two explanations. 1) That developing democracies have poor linkages between voters, (which is certainly supported by the existing comparative politics literature) and the more relevant explanation; 2) that parties go after swing voters and not core voters. While party affiliation is not statistically significant, coalition support is, which in the context of Malaysian electoral politics makes considerable more sense.

⁴²When looking at the Malay dummy variable, it is positive and statistically significant in the first statistical model, and positive in the second. When looking at the subgroup analysis in the appendices, Malays are more likely to accept vote buying. This leads me to suggest that the type of ethnic group you belong to determines whether you accept money or a favor for your vote. Chinese, Indian and Indigenous populations are less likely, whereas Malays are the opposite. In regards to specifically Malaysia, this ties to income as well. In both statistical models, working class voters, (2,000 to 5,000 ringgit per month) are more likely to sell their votes. As income increases, middle-class voters are more likely to reject patron-client relationships. Considering Malays are at the bottom in regards to economic inequality. So from an economic perspective, it makes sense that they are more likely to sell their votes. This also fits with the Malay middle class rejecting UMNO starting in the early 2000s. Similar to type of ethnic group, in looking at the subgroup analysis, Muslims are more likely to accept money for their votes. This would further lead me to suggest the type of religious group matters for vote buying, although Muslim voters are also more

subgroup analysis in Appendix A, where income, ethnicity, occupation, and education are all statistically and substantively significant. In the above models, those with more education are less likely to sell their votes. Likewise, those with stable, but not sizable income streams are more likely to sell their votes. This is also not surprising, as education and income are closely linked. While this backs up the previously listed hypotheses and fits within the literature on clientelism more broadly, in the context of Malaysia this is not especially surprising, poor, rural Malay voters are the support base of UMNO and the Barisan Nasional and vote buying is largely consistent with their party brand.

It seems that through a platform of developmentalism, patron-client relationships are a critical part of the Barisan Nasional strategies for mobilization. Moreover, these patron-client relationships are largely consistent with the literature on clientelism . With a significant resource advantage the Barisan Nasional used this to maintain their hegemony over Malaysian political space. On this point, the BN used clientelism to maintain its political power in the 13th general election. This is consistent with literature on both dominant party systems and hybrid regimes more broadly, wherein parties use clientelism to both gain or maintain popular support while keeping a moderately open structure of electoral participation. Hybrid regimes, in this case the BN, use clientelism to engender authoritarianism and suppress citizen opposition, preventing their exit through traditional democratic competition, as certainly there are those clients that cannot survive without resources distributed from their patrons. What does this mean more generally speaking?

than likely going to be Malay. So there is an interaction between these variables.

Table 3.3: Difference of Means Between Treatment and Control Groups

	Control		Treatment		Two-Tailed Paired T-Test	
Variable	Obs	Mean	Obs	Mean	Diff. in Means	Ha: Diff Not = 0
Female	505	1.463	505	1.489	-0.026	0.3758
Age	505	38.265	505	38.980	0.715	0.2898
Malay	505	1.657	505	1.606	0.051	0.2697
Muslim	505	3.211	505	3.178	0.033	0.7054
Education	505	3.603	505	3.630	-0.026	0.6214
State	505	8.707	505	8.687	-0.198	0.9394
Urban/Rural	505	479088	505	487699	-8611.0	0.8059 ^a
Occupation	505	3.010	505	2.855	0.155	0.1931
Income	505	3.004	505	3.140	0.136	0.1104
Number of Vehicles	505	2.895	505	2.899	-0.004	0.9523
Cost of Vehicle	505	1.768	505	1.879	-0.111	0.0524
Party Affiliation	505	2.625	505	2.661	-0.036	0.8142
Coalition Support	505	1.800	505	1.820	-0.020	0.7109
Fair Elections	482	1.817	482	1.811	0.006	0.8935
Honest Elections	505	3.756	505	3.695	0.061	0.0817

^a Population taken from the respondent's zip code using the 2010 census. This variable is then reordered to an 8-point scale.

^b There are 1014 total observations, including missing data. After missing data there is 1008.

Table 3.4: Maximum Likelihood Estimator: Unconstrained Model

Variable	Treatment Item		Control Items (0)		Control Items (1)	
	Est	SE	Est	SE	Est	SE
Intercept	-1.608	1.445	-0.275	0.267	3.907	2.345
Male	0.556	0.443	0.200***	0.068	1.712**	0.832
Age	0.030	0.019	-0.001	0.003	-0.127***	0.044
Malay	0.867*	0.455	0.089	0.071	-4.108***	1.817
Primary Education	0.739	0.538	-0.463***	0.139	-1.538	1.081
Bachelor's Degree	-1.453***	0.487	-0.016	0.073	6.257	5.288
Urban/Rural Divide	-0.334**	0.151	0.042	0.028	1.238***	0.434
Occupation	-0.214**	0.108	-0.023	0.018	0.583**	0.264
Working Class	1.670***	0.517	-0.058	0.077	3.991***	1.350
Coalition Support	-0.593**	0.263	-0.087**	0.041	1.500**	0.601

^a * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

^b $N = 1008$

^c Log-likelihood: -1382.311

Table 3.5: Maximum Likelihood Estimator: Constrained Model

Variable	Treatment Item		Control Items	
	Est	SE	Est	SE
Intercept	1.040	3.006	-0.408	0.282
Male	1.554**	0.844	0.001	0.003
Age	-0.025	0.037	0.002	0.004
Malay	0.975	0.734	0.062	0.073
Primary Education	0.441	0.906	-0.303**	0.126
Bachelor's Degree	-2.464**	0.978	0.021	0.078
Urban/Rural Divide	-0.451	0.364	0.059	0.032
Occupation	-0.129	0.161	-0.047**	0.019
Working Class	2.720***	0.873	0.049	0.078
Coalition Support	-0.494	0.391	-0.110**	0.041

^a * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

^b $N = 1008$

^c Log-likelihood: -1418.101

On the surface, relationships between patrons and clients seemingly reflects a consensual agreement wherein both actors expect gains. One might even suggest that the prevalence of clientelism in a political system increases voter options in their attempt to gain access to private goods by adding additional value to their vote. Likewise, patron-client exchanges do not explicitly force citizens to unwillingly restrict their vote choice and clients have the option to accept or reject the resources offered, clientelism manipulates behavior in a non-coercive way and the impact of clientelism on political behavior cannot be equated with typical suppression of political behavior under authoritarian rule. The question of clientelism as a voluntary exchange is challenged by the asymmetry of state power – coercive by definition – when citizens who do not fulfill their duties as clients face exclusion in the distribution of goods and services provided as patronage.

The conditions that keep the probability of exiting office low primarily depend upon two characteristics. a) The dominant party has a monopoly or near monopoly over the distribution of clientelistic goods and there is existing sanctions against clientelistic activity, and the dominant party has the monopoly on clientelistic activity. b) “money politics” or clientelistic exchanges is a significant aspect of the economy with few economic or social incentives to deviate from this (Trantidis 2015). Such conditions create blockages to ‘exit’ and allows for the dominant party to continue patronage systems unabated. For this system to end, it is necessary for social groups to demand political and social change, where opposition parties and programmatic goods emerge.

The loss of vote share combined with the success of opposition parties in states like Terengganu and Kelantan, where substantial development has occurred, makes this type of patronage on the part of BN strategies is less and less successful. Furthermore, the support of the Chinese and Malay middle class for the BN eroded in the early 2000s.

To put this in context, the explosive growth of the Malay and Chinese middle-class in urban areas of Malaysia has led to voter preferences that are clearly in disjuncture with a clientelist redistribution of goods.

3.7 DISCUSSION

Vote buying and clientelism more broadly is still illegal and numerous emerging democracies have put policies or institutions in place to restrict or limit clientelistic activity.⁴³ Consider Thailand for example, where clientelism is an open and significant aspect of electoral politics. The Election Commission of Thailand (ECT) was created through the 1997 constitution to limit electoral fraud.⁴⁴ It not only regulates national and local elections, but it has broad law enforcement powers as well. It has the ability to investigate and indict candidates who violate election laws, it has the power to investigate party finances and donor lists, and disqualify a candidate or call for a re-count of a particular district. It was designed to be an impartial and unbiased arbiter of Thai elections. How successful then, has the ECT been in preventing clientelism?

After the 2007 legislative elections in Thailand the Electoral Commission investigated 83 of 480 members of parliament, the overwhelming majority of these were for the People's Power Party (PPP) including the party leader, Yongyuth Tiayaphairat.⁴⁵ Faced with dissolution by the Electoral Commission, PPP leadership stated they

⁴³See for example: the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in Nigeria or the Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC) in Belize.

⁴⁴Prior to 1992 elections were overseen by the Ministry of Interior. However, the Ministry of Interior was, at times, influenced by members of parliament. The ECT in its current form was revised through the 2007 constitution.

⁴⁵After the 2007 election three members of the PPP were later disqualified, along with two from the Thai Nation Party, two for the Motherland party, and one for the Democrat Party.

would simply find a new party (Kokpol 2002).⁴⁶ After the 2011 elections the ECT disqualified five candidates from the Bhumjaithai Party (BJT). Despite broad powers granted by the Thai constitution, the ECT has had little success in changing the clientelistic political culture in Thailand. There was still significant vote buying in both the 2007 and 2011 general elections, at both the national and provincial level. Parties spent upwards of ten to fifty million baht (Pensute 2014).⁴⁷

Thus, on paper, both legislation that prohibits and sanctions vote buying and government administrations that oversee elections should act as a deterrent and curb the prevalence of vote buying. However, it at times, only has a partial effect. These types of steps to limit clientelism are ultimately only half measures, while they may work in the short-term, they will not have the desired long-term effect. It is necessary for there to be educational measures at the micro level that complement law enforcement or legislative activities at the national level.⁴⁸ For example, it has been shown that NGOs can effectively deter voters through civic education of both instigators, i.e. political parties and candidates, and recipient voters (Lockwood 2013).⁴⁹

⁴⁶The party was eventually dissolved due to electoral fraud. Party elites were stripped of their right to run for office for five years, with other party members allowed to run under the Pheu Thai Party.

⁴⁷It is possible for vote buying to exist on such a grand level, that legislative measures to control it would be fruitless.

⁴⁸Green and Vasudevan (2018) have found experimental evidence in India that educational measures through mass media can result in a 4 to 7 percent reduction in vote share of vote buying parties.

⁴⁹The Thai NGO PollWatch, a volunteer election monitoring organization, is an example of this. It is also further evidence of the role of the middle class. One survey found that 64% of PollWatch volunteers in the 1992 election belonged to the middle class (LoGerfo 2000, 228-29). In fact, PollWatch prefers to recruit its members from the middle class. As one scholar observed during the 1995 election, “since low education levels are seen as one of the main supports of election fraud, PollWatch actively recruited ‘educated people’ - students, teachers, business people, lawyers, civil servants - to work at the volunteer level” (Callahan 2017, 9). Thus, as in the rest of Southeast Asia, there is a class dimension to electoral reform: urban middle class organizations such as Pollwatch are trying to discipline how the rural poor vote. As one scholar commented on the 1992 election, “these middle class stalwarts were acting to ensure that Thailand’s largely rural electorate would choose only ‘good’ politicians who did not buy votes” (LoGerfo 2000, 229).

I admit that the wishes of the middle class – elections free of vote buying, fraudulent voting, intimidation, or ballot box stuffing – often clash with other social classes. This is to say, that advocates for electoral reform often times do not understand how these reforms impact the preferences of poor voters. More importantly, when outside expectations of moral electoral behavior are imposed upon voters who do not share these expectations there may be unintended consequences. It is possible, even likely, that such an imposition creates voter reactions that can range from alienation to reinforcing the very behaviors the reformers seek to change (Schaffer 2008).⁵⁰ Nonetheless, these class divisions have, on occasion, been overcome by a shared interest in the principles of democratic governance.

⁵⁰There are likely significant class divisions because of this. In the case of the Philippines, some wealthier voters look down on poor voters for allowing themselves to be “herded, fed, and paid.” (Espina 2001). This is echoed in Thailand as well, In Thailand there exists, “a conviction among the middle classes that democracy belongs to the middle class, and that the lower classes are incapable of effective participation in a democratic system. The middle class frustration with the common practice of vote-buying is the most dramatic indication of this attitude” (Ockey 2005, 245–246).

CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF MALAYSIA'S BR1M POLICY: PARTY BRANDS AND PARTY COMPETITION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Fiscal interventions such as cash transfer programs are arguably the fastest-growing socio-economic policies in the developing world. Designed to address poverty, the government makes direct cash payments to low-income households or individuals either unconditionally (unconditional cash transfers – UCTs) or under a formal set of conditions the recipients are required to meet, (conditional cash transfers – CCTs) for example children must be required to go to school. The first, and what has become the largest started in Brazil in the mid-1990s, Bolsa Familia, (Family Allowance) has significantly decreased poverty and inequality in Brazil.

Such programs vary in scope, policy goals, and details, but all of them use goods and services to address the needs of the poor. Since inception, there are approximately 130 UCTs and 64 CCTs in the developing world, many of them such as Mexico's Progresa/Oportunidades impact millions of poor voters, and have become a staple of these countries' social welfare programs. While the economic effect of cash transfer programs is clearly understood, the effect of such programs on political competition is less clear.

While cash transfer programs are relatively new, the idea that citizens reward

politicians who provide them with economic benefits is common across several strands of political science research. Whether this is framed as good economic performance or retrospective voting, (Fiorina 1978, Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier 2000, Anderson 2007) or redistribution that benefits one demographic over another, (Boix 2003, Acemoglu & Robinson 2005) it is clear that economics can play an important role in the decision to cast a vote. It is then useful to know to what extent macro-level government programs can influence voters' political behavior. A number of models have been developed, all of which attempt to understand this question at the individual level (Key, 1966; Downs, 1957; Drazen et al., 2006).

Out of this development comes a division surrounding the effect of these programs on electoral outcomes. There is one side of the literature that argues that cash transfer programs can positively impact the electoral success of incumbent representatives. While another argues that political competition matters, and these programs either have a null effect, or favor the opposition. Clearly, existing literature that focuses on this relationships is divided, leaving the question unanswered. What is the impact of cash transfer programs on institutionalized competition between political parties?

To answer this question, I extend Noam Lupu's (2016) theory of party branding to explain how parties use fiscal interventions like cash transfer programs as a party brand to mobilize voters, and how this effects party competition when voters either accept or reject that brand. The theory is relatively simple. Government transfers are often targeted at a particular group of individuals, not just in an attempt to alleviate poverty of that group, but because the government favors them. For example, the government may target swing voters who may be persuaded to support the incumbent in the next election. Or they may target members of one particular ethnic group over another.

Over time, these voters form partisan attachments to parties based upon what

parties say and do. Attachments that are group identities, akin to the attachments people form to social groups. As Green et al argue, (2004) these attachments are largely based upon perceptions of both their own political identity and to what extent the party represents this identity, relative to other parties. The party forms a party platform around dimensions of this identity. This platform – or what a party stands for and what they use to connect to the voter – is the *party brand*. The more ambiguous the party brand, the weaker the partisan attachment is and the less competitive the party becomes. When the party brand is strong, so is the level of attachment.

Using data collected at the subnational level, this paper shows that the ruling coalition used Malaysia’s cash transfer program (BR1M) as a party brand to maximize votes and retain its support base in rural Malaysia. In this sense, it wasn’t a new party brand, but an attempt to rely on their existing brand of development and patronage through BR1M to maintain power. However, I show that their branding efforts failed, and BR1M actually had a negative and statistically significant effect upon the 2013 election. While UMNO and the BN increased both the number of handouts and the overall amounts, the effect was also negative and statistically significant for the 2018 election. This contributes to the literature in comparative politics in several ways.

First, it adds to the development literature, giving us an opportunity to better understand the effects of redistributive politics and cash transfer programs in the developing world. Second, it contributes to an understanding of electoral politics in Malaysia. UMNO used BR1M to double down on their existing brand, and failed. This paper clarifies the extent to which this strategy of mobilization was ineffective as part of UMNOs party brand, the degree to which it contributed to their breakdown, and impacted competition between parties, particularly in the context of the “Malaysian Tsunami.” Finally, it extends Lupu’s (2016) theory of party branding and party breakdown beyond Latin America to Southeast Asia.

4.2 REDISTRIBUTION AND PARTY COMPETITION

What is the effect of cash transfer programs on party competition? As Duch and Stevenson (2008) broadly point out, while there is variation, economic voting is a pervasive aspect of electoral politics. They argue, rational voters are attentive to cues in regards to the responsibility of political parties for economic policy outcomes; and that under conditions of uncertainty, these voters base their vote on the representative's record of economic performance. Furthermore, not only do rational voters have strategic expectations concerning economic outcomes, they also have rational expectations concerning relative electoral strength of competing candidates (Cox 1997)

Subsequently, the connection between programmatic redistribution and voting behavior is relatively clear. The expectation is voters who benefit from redistribution will support a candidate that effectively carries out redistribution policies, and during times of growing economic inequality, these demands increase (Zucco 2011). However, this is not always the case, and literature suggests that redistribution policies can fail or have negative effects for a number of reasons. Scholarship points to electoral rules and the geographic distribution of voters, (Jusko 2010) backlash from those voters who will pay for the policy, (Boix 2003, Acemoglu & Robinson 2005) the policy implementation itself, (Przeworski 2010) and divergent voter preferences within the same social classes (Mares 2003) as negatively impacting the political outcome of redistribution policies. Nonetheless, all of these assume the median voter demands some kind of redistribution policy, in return for political support.

Thus, while reversed, a clear relationship between political competition and redistribution policies exists. Besley et al (2010) find that in the US, policies that support low economic growth are associated with low levels of political competition. Likewise, there are several formal models that suggest higher levels of political competition

result in superior policy outcomes (Fearon 1999, Besley 2006, Hatfield 2015). Scholars find that competition between political parties can enhance long-term investments into human capital as well as production (Weingast 1995, Brueckner 2006).

This relationship works somewhat differently with a clientelistic redistribution of goods. Clientelism is the provision of private benefits (goods or services) by politicians to voters in exchange for political support. The exchange between representatives and voters (or patrons and clients) is its most defining characteristic of this relationship (Stokes 2005, Kitschelt & Wilkinson 2007, Stokes et al. 2013). The types of excludable goods range dramatically from money or individual goods before an election, special favors such as jobs, or state resources distributed as patronage, a subclass of clientelism.¹ Nonetheless, regardless of the goods involved in the exchange, the scholarship typically finds that a positive relationship between the distribution of clientelistic goods and competition exists (Wilkinson 2007, Levitsky 2007, Kopecký 2011, Weitz-Shapiro 2012).²

At the macroeconomic level there is clearly a robust strand of research that says a state's economic change is closely tied to voting behavior (Powell Jr & Whitten 1993, Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier 2000, Anderson 2000). Nevertheless, a voter's financial health is tied to macroeconomic policy to varying degrees, and because of confounding factors, it is difficult to discern the causal effect of macroeconomic policy at the individual level. Most households will be in a strong financial position when general macroeconomic factors are positive. It can therefore be difficult or even impossible to determine how "direct improvements to households" financial situations

¹Beyond this, Cole (2009) finds that state-owned banks are much more likely to distribute loans to farmers in advance of elections in highly contested districts. Meanwhile, Dinc (2005) finds that government-owned banks are more likely to distribute loans in elections years than off years, in what is termed the "political business cycle."

²This is with the exception of Gottlieb and Kosec (2017) who find that because of coordination costs, you do not see an increase of private transfers at the expense of public ones.

affect their view of incumbent government and opposition parties" (Galiani et al. 2016, 22). However, as an alternative to large-scale federal funding, cash transfer programs give us an opportunity to study the effects of a national policy on the political behavior of an entire demographic in society.

4.3 CASH TRANSFER PROGRAMS AND PARTY COMPETITION

Cash transfer programs contain elements of both classes of redistribution. They are implemented in manners similar to that of clientelism, and benefit individuals that would typically be targets of clientelistic exchanges. Similar to patron-client relationships, they are distributed directly to individual households that have short time horizons and prefer tangible benefits over policy promises that might deliver much more in the future (Kitschelt 2000). However, cash transfer programs lack both the monitoring and the excludability necessary for the distribution of private goods through clientelistic exchanges. Therefore, even when used as patronage, they are still distributed to entire classes of voters, and consequently fit within a programmatic redistribution (Zucco 2011).

One side of the literature has consistently found that voters who receive conditional cash transfers are more likely to support the incumbent, (Licio, Rennó & Castro 2009, Diaz-Cayeros, Estévez & Magaloni 2009, Zucco 2013, De La O 2013) and that incumbent vote shares are more likely to increase in subnational areas where cash transfer programs are in distributed (Zucco 2008, Nupia 2011). To illustrate this further, Nupia (2011) finds that during the 2010 Colombian presidential election, incumbent candidate, Juan Manuel Santos had better results in municipalities where the cash transfer programs *Familias en Accion* saturated a substantial proportion of the population. Likewise, Serdan (2006) finds that the during “the 2006 presidential

election incumbent candidate Felipe Calderon performed better in municipalities with larger coverage of the program *Oportunidades*” (Corrêa 2015, 65).

Manacorda, Miguel, and Vigorito (2011) found that Uruguayan beneficiaries of the CCT program *Plan de Asistencia Nacional a la Emergencia Social* (PANES) were more likely to support President Tabare Vazquez in opinion surveys. Finally Queirolo (2009) found that these voters were more likely to support the incumbent candidate, Jose Mujica, in the 2009 election. Indeed, the classical model from Key (1961, 1966) argues that voters reward incumbents for policies successfully, and punishes those that are implemented at the expense of the voters. It would be then be easy to conclude that incumbents who campaign on redistributive policies are more likely to improve their electoral chances. However, there is another side to this argument, and scholars have also argued that political institutions mediate the effect of economic factors.

For instance, Anderson (1988) successfully argues Key’s models work best in a two-party system, and salience of either the incumbent or the opposition’s political ideology is not a significant factor. Likewise, Drazen and Eslava (2006) argue that redistribution policies send a signal to voters that politicians are representing their respective interests, and thus, alters their political preferences toward the representative in response to a future benefit.³Non-beneficiaries of a redistribution policy also use that information to form preferences toward both the incumbent and the opposition. They are then able to support the incumbent party on the basis of being a future beneficiary of this policy, or reject them under the assumption of having to pay for it.⁴

Individual case studies of cash transfer programs in Mexico, (Yuriko 2007) Honduras,

³For an alternative take on this, see Smith and Bueno de Mesquita BdM2012. They argue, that the possibility of winning prizes can push voters to support a party even if they dislike the party’s policies.

⁴As de la Briere (2006) notes, a lack of transparency of redistribution policies and specifically cash transfer programs results in frustration for the non-beneficiary, and punishment for the incumbent party.

(Linos 2013, Galiani et al. 2016) and Brazil (Zucco 2011) find there are electoral benefits the opposition, in such cases the effect is dependent upon partisanship, and varies between districts. Likewise, Correa (2015) suggests these programs do not make incumbents at the national level electorally more successful. Hence, there is also still a significant amount of uncertainty about how cash transfer programs affect political competition, especially outside of Latin America (Galiani et al. 2016).

To fill this gap in the literature, I extend Noam Lupu’s (2009, 2016) theory of party branding to explain how cash transfer programs effect competition between political parties. Lupu argues that sudden shifts in partisanship result in otherwise established parties suddenly becoming less competitive. I further argue that these voters do not disappear from the electorate, they find new parties to support, subsequently increasing competition.⁵ Using Malaysia as a case study, I show that government parties used Malaysia’s unconditional cash transfer program to reaffirm support from its constituents. Yet, this failed, and how voters responded to the policy was dependent upon how closely they fit with the party brand.

4.4 PARTY BRANDS

Party brands give voters some indication of the type of citizen the party represents. It is not a stretch to imagine that voters have some criteria for evaluating parties in mind.⁶ For some it is an ethnic attachment – to what extent does the party accurately

⁵I use clientelism as part of the party brand. Lupu (?, 7–8) argues that clientelism is not relevant to the party brand. That voters who sell votes still form partisan attachments to parties that are not based upon existing patron-client relationships. I disagree, and argue that a present patron-client relationship is part of the attachment.

⁶One should that assume voters have a range of possible parties to choose from. In both multiparty and hegemonic or dominant party systems there are situations where voters consider the probability of a party winning an election. This is probably clearest in a party system where one party is unlikely to lose.

reflect their ethnic group. To others it is a economic attachment, and class may be an important factor in their political identity. Some political parties may seem pro-poor while others are perceived as reflecting the interests of the wealthy. For instance, parties that favor the poor might push an agenda of redistribution; while parties that favor more affluent voters might limit corporate regulation. In any case, voters form perceptions of party brands based upon what parties do and say over time.⁷

Party elites may publicly advocate for a certain type of policy, cultivate dense clientelistic networks, they may pass legislation, or associate with other like-minded individuals, but no matter their behavior they send a signal to prospective voters.⁸ From a programmatic standpoint, “parties appeal to the middle classes, women, or ecologists by presenting themselves as representative of their interests and values...” (Przeworski & Sprague 1986, 82). From a clientelistic point of view, “parties identify voter groups that would be amenable to the provision of benefits,” in return for their electoral support (Tzelgov & Wang 2016, 375). Voters then continually update their prior beliefs toward parties based upon new observations.

This suggests that voters respond to the actions of party elites. They may not see every action taken by the party representative in the legislature, or every clientelistic

⁷It is likely, especially in new democracies where regional parties are stronger, that a voter can have an attachment to a national party that is different than an attachment to a sub-national one. For the sake of simplicity, I focus on national parties and single dimensions of partisan attachments. However, multiple dimensions of attachment between regional and national parties would certainly be possible.

⁸There is some debate concerning whether voters uniformly interpret the same observation in the same manner. That is, the effect (if any) partisanship has on the interpretation of information (Converse 1964, Zaller 1992, Gerber & Green 1999, Bartels 2002). Campbell et al (1960) argue that partisanship acts as a screen to interpret information. However, more recent scholarship has found that partisanship and perception works two ways: partisan bias colors perceptions and perceptions inform partisan bias (Green, Palmquist & Schickler 2004, Layman, Carsey & Horowitz 2006). The necessary question to answer is to what extent does it impede or promote change? As Franklin and Jackson (1983, 969) note, “as previous partisan attachment acts to restrain change, it is like a sea anchor, which retards drift rather than arrests it entirely. If the tides of policy evaluation are strong enough, conversations can and will take place.”

transaction, but they observe some broadly important behavior that gives them an understanding of trends within the party (Woon & Pope 2008, Ansolabehere & Jones 2010). Voters then use these observations to update their perception of the party brand (Zaller 1992).⁹ This departs from the literature in an important manner.

Green et al (2004) argues that a party prototype is the typical person who votes for that party (Lupu 2016, 21). For example, working-class voters who think that most working-class voters support the Labour party, will think that the working-class voter is the Labour party prototype. This is the same for middle-class voters and the Conservative party. Instead, think of voters not as party supporters, but party beneficiaries. Such a voter is the type of citizen whose interests the party represents, and stands to benefit from its position in government. So the citizen who votes for the Labour or Conservative party in British elections, or the Kenyan voter who supports the Democratic party, does so because these parties are perceived to be those who look out for working-class, or middle-class British, or Luhya voters more so than Kikuyu.

These prototypes are derived from a broader set of observations beyond that of voting patterns. Voters rely on heuristics when forming political attachments, including the actions of party elites, to determine the typical voter a party represents. For example, when DAP party elites meet with Chinese interest groups in Penang, and regularly support policies that benefit the Malaysian-Chinese in that community, they are more likely to be seen as the party that represents the Chinese in Penang.¹⁰

⁹Scholarship implies that a socialization process exists for new voters who model their political behavior around that of family members (Achen 2002, Kroh & Selb 2009). For instance, they may discuss politics with their close relatives, friends, or coworkers. There is also literature that suggests voters intuitively understand who buys and sells votes, despite clientelism being prohibited (Cruz 2013). In the interest of simplicity, I focus on unidimensional party brands; because it is also possible that parties have different brands for different groups of voters. Parties want to maximize votes after all. For example, they may have a clientelistic brand for poor, rural voters and a more programmatic brand for wealthier, urban voters (Lupu 2016).

¹⁰Compared to the MCA who also try to mobilize the Chinese in Malaysia. However, their actions at least by the majority of voters in Penang, are seen as less beneficial.

Although, party brands, and by extension, party prototypes are not always clear.

Voters may have a sense of a party brand, but ideas surrounding it are sometimes vague. With this in mind, party brands can be characterized as clear or strong, when voters have a better understanding of it. Conversely, when voters have a poor sense of the party brand, it can be considered weak or ambiguous. Party brands can become stronger or more ambiguous over time, and as voters observe the behavior of party officials, they update their perceptions of that strength or clarity. For example, a party may represent multiple prototypes, where one individual brand may grow stronger while another grows weaker.¹¹

4.4.1 HOW VOTERS FORM PARTY ATTACHMENTS

Voters update their perceptions of party brands by observing the actions of the party (Lupu 2016). Repeatedly observing what the party says and does creates an image of the party brand. They continually update that image each time they see how the party behaves, forming the basis for partisanship. These party attachments are similar to group identities, where members of the group form an identity based upon attachment to that group.¹² These group identities are based upon stereotypes people have about each group - what a prototypical poor person or a prototypical affluent person looks like. Huddy (2001) argues that a “prototype can either be the most typical member of a group – an actual person – or a fictional member who embodies the most common or frequent attributes shared among group members” (133–134).

The group prototype is what individuals use to determine their attachment to that

¹¹Huber et al (2005) argues there is an institutional effect that determines the degree voters can observe party actions. I (along with Lupu) largely ignore the role of institutions here.

¹²There is debate within political science about whether partisanship is based upon social groups or rational choice (Fiorina 1981, Achen 1992, Gerber & Green 1998). While I rely on the concept of group identity; in both this theory, as well as rational models, performance evaluations play a strong factor in deciding competition.

group. Individuals identify as a poor or affluent person, as Malay or Kikuyu, if “they think they resemble, or *fit* that prototype” (Lupu 2016, 22).¹³ This is also relative to other groups, where voters feel the greatest attachment to a specific group when other group prototypes are dissimilar from their own. Attachments to the group grow stronger as voters perceptions of how they fit with the party.¹⁴ The weaker or more ambiguous the party brand, the less partisan attachment the voter will have towards the party prototype. (Hogg et al. 2004).

Partisan attachment will be strongest when voters perceive themselves as similar to the party prototype *and* when other party prototypes are dissimilar. For example, a Filipino voter may have a strong partisan attachment to the left-wing Philippine Democratic party because she both fits closest with the party prototype and other party prototypes, for example that of the more conservative National Unity Party, are dissimilar. The question of comparative fit is important here.¹⁵ If a voter thinks he or she resembles two parties’ prototypes then the partisan attachment to both parties will be weak.¹⁶ Even when the voter has a clear understanding of other party

¹³There is a strand of literature on ethnic political attachment and partisanship that I have yet to adequately discuss. In a brief overview, the evidence that ethnicity is a key identifier of consistent party support, is mixed (Ishiyama & Fox 2006). It is possible for partisans of smaller ethnic-based political parties to be swayed if they believe another party has a better chance of winning (Chandra 2009). This is because while ethnicity is an important mechanism for mobilizing voters, (Posner 2007) ethnicity is also a multi-faceted identity (Horowitz 1985, Fearon & Laitin 1996, Chandra 2004) and voters can be more or less “ethnic” relative to their political identity.

¹⁴Partisanship is best viewed as a continuum where you have strong partisan attachment on one end and weak partisan attachment on the other. So when party brands grow weaker or more ambiguous, partisan attachment within the population also weakens and the party loses voters who previously identified with that party.

¹⁵The role of comparative fit is often overlooked in the partisanship literature. As Weisberg and Greene (2003) argue, “too much of the work on party identification has examined identification within the in-group without taking into account the views toward the out-group.”

¹⁶This is evident in patron-clientelistic relationships, where a voter has a weak ideological attachment to a party, and only votes for one party over another because of the benefits they receive. This is not to say that such parties are completely clientelistic, as there is some evidence that shows

brands, if they see them as equivalent, they will fail to form a strong attachment. What happens when a party suddenly changes party brands?

4.5 HOW ATTACHMENT ERODES

As perceptions of the party change over time, partisan attachment shifts along with it. It ebbs and flows as the party brand grows stronger or weaker, possibly without the voter even realizing it. Imagine a left-leaning party that suddenly becomes more conservative. Suddenly a voter that had little attachment to a center-left party, now benefits. Or a clientelistic party that decides to opt out of clientelism and become more programmatic. A longstanding client of the party will not benefit in the same manner. However, a voter who does not identify as a client may be more inclined to vote for a now programmatic party. While they may not identify with them immediately, they will certainly consider voting for them in future elections. In each case the attachment of each voter grows stronger or weaker as the party brand changes.

There are numerous examples of shifting political attitudes in societies clearly divided by class, ethnicity, or religion. Minority and majority ethnic groups may hold very different attitudes about minority rights to political representation, but attitudes often differ within those groups as well (especially within majority groups). Likewise, in many countries the attitude toward minority representation determines the fundamental issue divide within the majority groups. A similar phenomenon can often occur within and between religious groups in the form of sharp disagreements

linkages between clientelism and ideology. Tzelgov and Wang (2016) show that economic interests dictate their likelihood of targeting voters with clientelistic benefits. This is more so with right-wing parties than leftist ones. As Coppedge (1998) explains, “clientelism and ideology are not necessarily mutually exclusive... Clientelism is merely a means to build and maintain a power base; ideology, where it exists, is what guides what that power is used for. Many parties are to some degree, clientelistic, to some degree personalistic, *and* to some degree ideological; these three qualities will vary independently (552).

among adherents of a dominant religious sect regarding the role of religion in political life.

Voters with strong partisan attachments have equally strong affinities to the party. This is true even when the party experiences a period of significant economic decline, a scandal while in office, or they do not fulfill campaign promises. Voters will give the party the benefit of the doubt because in their minds the party will still look out for them, either through public or private benefits. As Hirschhman (1970) argues, partisan voters will support the party out of loyalty when nonpartisans will not.¹⁷

How do nonpartisans choose between political parties? From a programmatic standpoint independent voters or swing voters may choose a party based upon policy direction (Downs 1957). From a clientelistic standpoint, this is different, and the efficacy of both clientelistic and collective goods is what drives independent voters. While independent voters have an interest in policy, and are not unidimensionally clientelistic, they are less likely to switch parties based on clientelistic exchanges than on policy grounds (Weghorst & Lindberg 2013).¹⁸ Still, valence is important to every voter, and party choices likely depend upon these issues as well (Kayser & Wlezien 2011).

Valence issues are those issues on which all voters have the same position, for example economic growth (Lupu 2016). Since all voters favor economic growth, political parties form a consensus on the issue. Every party is for economic growth, and the

¹⁷I use the terms “nonpartisan,” “swing voter,” or “independent voter” interchangeably. In Mayer’s words, a swing voter is one “who is not solidly committed to one candidate or the other as to make all efforts of persuasion futile” (2008, 359). This makes a swing voter conceptually distinct from a core supporter or party stalwart.

¹⁸There is, of course, some debate surrounding the role of swing voters in vote buying markets. It is unclear if parties are more effective in obtaining votes by targeting swing voters, (Schady 2000) by rewarding core supporters, (Perez 2006) or through a combination of both (Stokes & Dunning 2008). While it is possible that because vote buying is illegal that parties will target core supporters because they implicitly understand that these voters will stay quiet in the face of a clientelistic offer.

difference between them, is the degree in which they are more or less competent on that particular issue, relative to other parties. As Stokes (1992, 148) states, “in valence politics, nothing succeeds like success, or fails like failure.” Voters rate parties based upon past performance, and not future proposals. In fact, just considering economic performance as a valence issue, economic voting is an important aspect of voter behavior throughout most democracies, developing and otherwise (Anderson 2000, Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier 2000, Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier 2007).¹⁹

As partisan attachment erodes, and more voters stop identifying with the party, valence issues such as economic performance become more important. As Coppedge notes, “the strength of partisan identification therefore moderates the effect of economic performance on the vote” (2001, 187). This holds true regardless of whether voters are ideological or clientelistic. Even clientelistic voters will stop supporting a party in the face of an economic crisis or scandal, see for example the LDP in Japan, the PRI in Mexico, or the PT in Brazil. In this situation, it is possible for the client to exit the relationship with the patron and vote based upon programmatic ideals, or align themselves with a party that offers other private benefits.²⁰ In either case, the voter decides retroactively that supporting that particular party is not in their best interest. The next step, however, to test the limitations of this theory cross-nationally.

4.6 BR1M POLICY

Most of the poor, rural population in Malaysia are Malays (Ng et al. 2015). This is in part due to the failures of the National Economic Policy (NEP) implemented after the

¹⁹Certainly there are other valence issues beyond economic success. Scholars suggest that both extreme corruption and social unrest are critical valence issues among voters (Mainwaring 2006, Abney et al. 2013).

²⁰If there is a significant economic crisis, and the party uses state resources to retain power, it is likely they will not have enough to offer voters.

1969 electoral violence (Ali 2015).²¹ However, while the NEP largely failed to close the income gap between ethnic groups, it did result in the development of an urban, Malay middle-class. Certainly, significant aspects of the NEP were driven by ethnic and class differences, and the Barisan Nasional (UMNO in particular) used these differences as a platform to mobilize rural Malay voters. UMNO has taken efforts to not only win elections in rural Malaysia, but dominate rural society.²² Using developmentalism as a platform, UMNO and the Barisan Nasional has largely controlled rural areas of Malaysian political space for the last six decades.

UMNO and the BN's use of developmental policies contributed to strong economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s (Jomo, Rasiah & Felker 2013). These developmental and redistributive policies have been a cornerstone of the BN platform, helping them to continually maintain power since 1974. However, these policies contained provisions for wasteful and inefficient patronage systems with direct ties to the BN, specifically UMNO (Gomez & Jomo 1999). The implementation of these programs led to significant fractionalization within UMNO, which contributed to a enormous loss of support during the 1990, 1999, 2008, and 2013 elections (Welsh 2004, Pepinsky 2009b, Ostwald 2013).²³ After the 1999 election, this led to UMNO leadership attempting to restructure their developmental model in an effort to regain support by rural voters. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (prime minister from 2003 to 2009) further advocated for liberalizing civil liberties and curbing the patronage and corruption that was embedded in the the BN, although this was largely unsuccessful.

²¹The NEP was replaced by the National Development Plan in 1990, which was then replaced by the National Vision Policy in 2001. All of these continued affirmative action policies for Bumiputera.

²²In 1970 they established the Social Development Division in an attempt to promote development at the local level in a manner consistent with UMNO's party brand (Welsh 2016).

²³During the 2008 and 2013 elections PAS campaigned on mismanagement of development projects by state-level BN representatives.

Najib, (Prime Minister from 2009 to 2018) also publicly called for the elimination of “rent-seeking” and spoke of political reforms that allowed for the proper functioning of political parties, including how they would mobilize voters. However, this did not include institutional oversight, nor was there any mention of amending unfair electoral practices including gerrymandering and malapportionment. UMNO was aware that electoral reform would work against its interests (Slater and Wong 2013), and they subsequently retained control over the Election Commission, the unit that is responsible for ensuring that political parties abide by the conditions under which they were established. So while there were overtures made by Najib and UMNO to curb patronage and institute electoral reforms, it was empty rhetoric, and the system of patronage used by the BN to mobilize voters continued unabated.

In an attempt to unify UMNO, and retain its traditional support base, Najib used his 1 Malaysia slogan to endorse numerous social and economic policies that addressed the lives of the poor in the Malay heartland. However, this only serves to characterize Najib’s policies as race-based initiatives that are in line with the NVP and its predecessors. Regional cleavages had emerged with hardcore poverty rampant in rural areas in Bumiputera-majority states, including Sabah, Kelantan, Perlis and Kedah, where the opposition had begun to develop a strong presence (Gomez & Kaur 2014). If Najib’s collection of policies did not explicitly protect or even promote Bumiputera interests, UMNO’s support in rural areas would be at risk. UMNO developed BR1M to specifically address this problem.

In 2012, as part of the Barisan Nasional’s “1 Malaysia program,” Prime Minister Najib Razak introduced the unconditional cash transfer program Bantuan Rakyat 1 Malaysia (1 Malaysia People’s Aid), or BR1M. Modeled after Brazil’s Bolsa Familia and Mexico’s Oportunidades Program, BR1M gives direct cash assistance to either households with incomes less than 3,000 ringgit, or single individuals with incomes

less than 2,000 ringgit. Shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, it has increased in scope since its inception.

Table 4.1: Total BR1M Handouts in Millions and Total Amount Spent in Ringgit: 2012 to 2014

	2012	2013	2014
Amount in Ringgit	2.09b RM	2.9b RM	3.64b RM
Number of Handouts	4.18m	6.8m	6.96m

Table 4.2: Total BR1M Handouts in Millions and Total Amount Spent in Ringgit: 2015 to 2017

	2015	2016	2017
Amount in Ringgit	5.35b RM	5.36b RM	6.31b RM
Number of Handouts	7.44m	7.28m	7.22m

While it is used to both relieve poverty, and ostensibly unite Malaysia across ethnic groups, BR1M should be considered politically motivated for a number of reasons. Najib instituted his 1Malaysia program to counter the opposition’s image of a transethnic coalition. Furthermore, Najib’s policies feature a distinctly race-based agenda. Regional cleavages have developed with increasing poverty in Bumiputera-majority states, including Sabah, Kelantan, Perlis, and Kedah, where opposition parties had a growing level of support. If Najib had not addressed the economic interests of the Bumiputera population, he risked substantially losing support for UMNO in rural areas of Malaysia (Gomez & Kaur 2014).²⁴ More directly, there is strong evidence that BR1M was used as patronage by the BN.²⁵ So how does this break down according to demographics?

²⁴Bumiputera or “sons of the soil” is a term used to describe Malay supremacy.

²⁵BR1M is supposed to be non-partisan, however in practice, its distribution through party offices such as the BN headquarters in Sitiawan and Kota Kinablu during the 2013 campaign points to the likelihood that it is being used as patronage (Weiss 2014).

In looking at a 2017 national survey of BR1M recipients, the majority of respondents in the sample are Malay, (55%) with 23.5% and 7.5% of the sample Chinese and Indian, respectively. In contrast, the Orang Asli or ‘Original People’ (Malaysia’s indigenous population) make up less than 1% of survey respondents. There are more male respondents than female respondents, (70.6% to 20.4%). Finally, the overwhelming majority of BR1M recipients sampled, (82%) are married (Kaji Data Research 2017). This is consistent with the distribution of BR1M to primarily households. However, the data does not adequately distinguish between individual recipients and household recipients. Likewise, the data does not reflect urban and rural divisions.

In looking at Figures 4.1 and 4.2, it is clear that with the exception of Selangor, the majority of BR1M handouts for 2012 and 2017 were distributed to rural areas of Malaysia.²⁶ Indeed, rural states that have traditionally been UMNO or BN strongholds like Kelantan, Kedah, Perak, Sabah, Sarawak, and Johor received the majority of BR1M handouts in both 2012 and 2017. Meanwhile states or federal territories that are more urban, and have traditionally supported opposition parties like Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Putrajaya, and Labuan received less handouts. This is also true when you consider the distribution of Malay voters across Malaysia.

In looking at Figures 4.3 and 4.4, Malaysia also had higher distributions of BR1M to states with a larger number of Malays. For example, states with high Malay populations such as Kelantan, Johor, and Kedah received a larger number of handouts than states or federal territories with less Malays, such as Penang, Kuala Lumpur, and Malacca. Similar to the urban/rural divide, states with a higher proportion of Malays are also states that support UMNO and the BN.²⁷ This, and the urban/rural

²⁶Selangor is somewhat unique, it is the most developed state in Malaysia, with both the highest GDP per capital, and the lowest poverty rate. Also, while being an opposition stronghold, it has a majority [53.6%] Bumiputera population (Malaysian Department of Statistics 2010).

²⁷Sabah and Sarawak are somewhat unique cases. They have high populations of Bumiputera largely

divide, points to BR1M being used as part of the party brand to reinforce the support of its base amongst poor, Malay-Muslims in rural areas of the country.

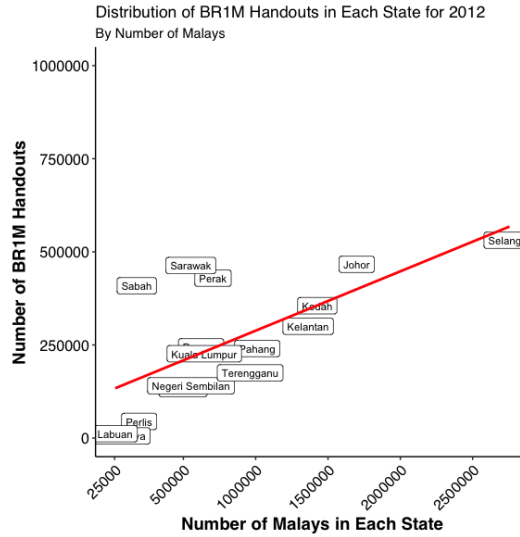


Figure 4.1: Handouts by Level of Urbanization in 2012

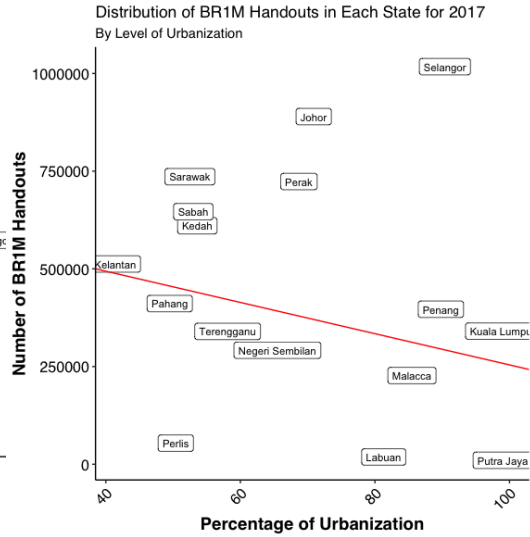


Figure 4.2: Handouts by Level of Urbanization in 2017

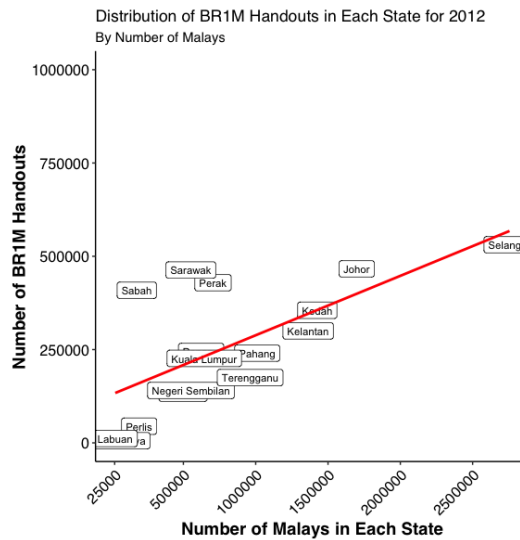


Figure 4.3: Handouts by Number of Malays in 2012

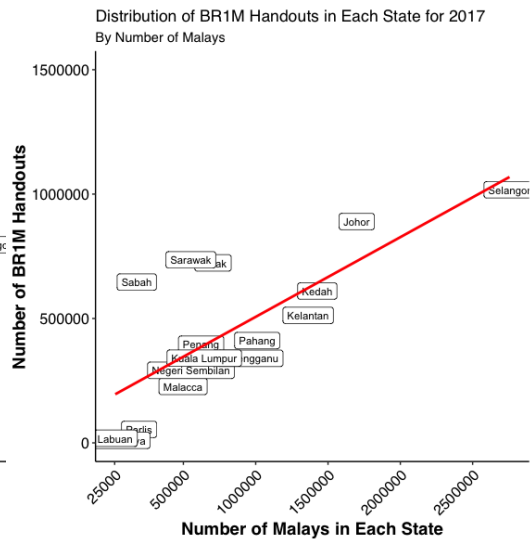


Figure 4.4: Handouts by Number of Malays in 2017

because of the number of Orang Asli that qualify for Bumiputera status, but typically receive less of the benefits from the BN.

Regional and social inequities emerged because of an abuse of provisions within race-based policies of the NEP and its successors, subsequently exacerbated by the system of patronage in place. Nonetheless, such policies of development and patronage are the cornerstone of the UMNO platform. It is used to connect the party to voters, with BR1M clearly a part of UMNO's party brand. While BR1M is used in a manner consistent with patronage, it also contains elements of programmatic distribution. This gives us a critical opportunity to understand redistribution in Malaysia, how Malaysian voters behave in the presence of a tangible and quantifiable benefits — that resemble what is delivered by clientelism — but in the absence of any expectation to vote in a certain way, or to be part of specific patron-client relationships. If there is a relationship between voters who receive cash handouts in a manner similar to a clientelistic distribution, to what extent is this reflected in competitive elections?

UMNO and the BN lost a considerable number of seats in the 2013 and 2018 elections.²⁸ In 2013 the opposition coalition Pakatan Rakyat (PR) won the popular vote by a substantial margin, 50.8% to 47.4%. In this election, the BN lost seats in Johor, Terengganu, Kedah, and Perak, states it had previously dominated, and their reliance upon a gerrymandered first-past-the-post system with pronounced constituency malapportionment is the only reason it held onto power. In 2018, it lost a substantial amount of seats — across the electorate — in both urban and rural areas. States that had formerly been UMNO strongholds, clearly voted for the opposition. The question remains, to what extent did UMNOs use of BR1M as a party brand contribute to this?

²⁸This is noted in tables in the Appendices.

4.7 VARIABLES, DATA, AND METHODS

The dependent variable is party competition. To measure party competition, I use the incumbent party vote share, or percentage of total votes the incumbent party has secured in a given election, for each state.²⁹ This is what Elkins (1974, 683) calls *fractionalization*, “or the split of the vote (or seats of the legislature) among parties or candidates.”³⁰ Vote share has been used to understand relationships between competition and cash transfer programs in the past, and adequately captures how electoral support and legislative power is distributed throughout the electorate (Corrêa 2015, De La O 2013, Labonne 2013). Indeed, it has been a critical aspect to the study of party competition for several decades. It is a necessary, if not foundational, part in the measurement of the Effective Number of Parties.³¹ Outside of ENP, party vote share as an independent or dependent variable has been used to understand party competition in other studies as well.

For instance, it has been used to investigate relationships between local budget outcomes and the degree of party competition (Solé-Ollé 2006). Meanwhile, Ferris et al (2014) use party vote share as a variable to explain party competition in Canada from 1867 to 2011. Indeed, they find that it highly correlates with other measures of

²⁹I recognize there are states where opposition parties were the incumbent party, Penang for example. However, when using either BN vote share, or UMNO’s vote share, the results almost exactly the same.

³⁰While coalitions (e.g. the Barisan Nasional or the Pakatan Harapan) are necessary to win office in Malaysian politics, elected officials still campaign, win elections, and represent given districts as members of a party. Equally important, party vote share allows us to measure competition at an appropriate level.

³¹While ENP has most often been used to measure party system fragmentation, it has a strong foundation as a measurement of competition. Sartori (1976, 120) notes, “...in particular, the tactics of party competition and opposition appear related to the number of parties; and this has, in turn, an important bearing on how governmental coalitions are formed and are able to perform.” Conceptually it represents either the distribution of votes across political parties or their seats in the legislature (Lijphart 1994, Cox 1997, Clark & Golder 2006, Greene & Bevan 2018).

party competition. They find that vote share shows the same pattern across time as ENP does. Likewise, Díaz-Jiménez and Vivero-Ávila (2015) use it to understand how competition increased as Mexico went from a dominant party system under the PRI to a legitimate multi-party system. However, there are limitations to the use of vote share as a measure of party competition.

Vote share is decided *ex post*, and is conditional upon the election itself. Thus, neither alone nor part of the ENP, it does not effectively capture salient political events and subsequent electoral uncertainty, which is arguably the fundamental aspect of electoral competition.³² For example, if the electorate remains relatively constant in composition and size, (e.g. a 60–40 split) with generally mundane political issues, then there is less uncertainty about the outcome. On the other hand, if you have sensitive political issues with a shifting electorate, then a 60-40 split might become quite competitive, because the probability of victory is unknown. Nonetheless, as a quantitative measure of competition, vote share is still a useful option.

The independent variable is the number of BR1M handouts per capita for 2012 and 2017 by state or federal territory.³³ There are thirteen states and three federal territories, for a total of sixteen observations for both the 2013 and 2018 elections.³⁴

³²Uncertainty surrounding who wins and loses is a critical aspect of elections.

³³I use the number of handouts for the previous year, to account for lagged relationships.

³⁴There is some debate as to whether Sabah and Sarawak should be included in subnational comparative analyses of Malaysia. As Tom Pepinsky (2017) notes, there is reason to consider both states “regions of exception,” and other prominent subnational comparative studies of voting behavior have excluded them, for example, (2015). As Pepinsky goes on to argue, “while East Malaysia is likely best understood as a region of exception for questions of money politics and patronage, it may actually not be a region of exception for understanding the relationship between indigenous identity and support for the BN” (Pepinsky 2017, 1064). Since the concepts of interest within this paper are partisan identity and party competition, the differences in historical development between East and West Malaysia does not impact the relationship between Bumiputera voters and either regional or national political parties. In fact, considering this dynamic, and the percentage of Bumiputera living in Sabah and Sarawak, this makes both states rather *similar* to states in West Malaysia. Likewise, I trust that statistical tools can account for the problems associated with regions of exception.

The Malaysian government did not publicly release BR1M data at the subnational level, only the total amounts for each year at the national level. I took the observations from news sources for each state and matched them against the total amounts released by the government sources. With each observation I looked for different sources reporting the same amount, to account for accuracy of the data. Approximate numbers are where only one source was found, opposed to multiple sources for the same data point. A breakdown of BR1M totals by state for 2012 and 2017 is shown in Figure 4.5 below.³⁵

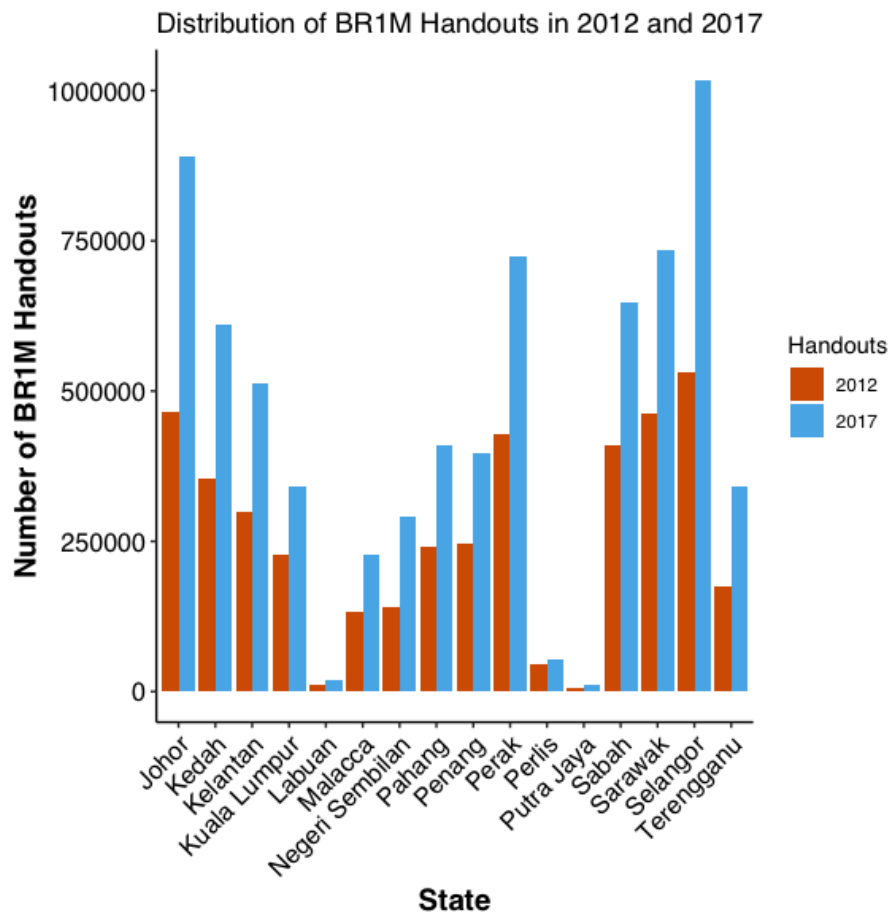


Figure 4.5: Distribution of BR1M by State in 2012 and 2017

³⁵I collected data on the number of BR1M handouts from 2014 to 2016 as well. Although I judged this data to be less accurate due to the lack of supporting sources.

To test theoretical implications in this paper, I use a linear Bayesian model with minimal priors, one million iterations, and a burn-in rate of one hundred thousand for the 2013 and 2018 elections.³⁶ To show why I use a Bayesian model, I give the results of frequentist linear models in the Appendices. Although, the frequentist models support the main findings in this paper, because of the small sample size, the results tend to be less informative about the parameters being estimated. The Bayesian model, on the other hand, allows us to better estimate uncertainty over the relationship between dependent and independent variables. In Tables 4.2 and 4.3 are the summary statistics for the posterior distributions of each model.³⁷

Table 4.3: Summary Statistics for the Posterior Distribution: 2013 Election

	Variable	Median	SD	Lower	Upper
1	Handouts	-0.43	0.24	-0.91	0.04
2	Ethnicity	0.47	0.35	-0.26	1.10
3	Mahathir	-0.11	0.26	-0.62	0.40
4	Urbanization	-0.08	0.25	-0.58	0.41
5	Women	-1.08	0.41	-1.87	-0.25
6	Alpha	0.00	0.18	-0.37	0.34
7	Deviance	32.77	4.93	26.94	45.95

Table 4.4: Summary Statistics for the Posterior Distribution: 2018 Election

	Variable	Median	SD	Lower	Upper
2	Handouts	-0.64	0.28	-1.18	-0.09
1	Ethnicity	0.47	0.42	-0.41	1.29
3	Mahathir	-0.35	0.30	-0.96	0.23
4	Urbanization	-0.25	0.28	-0.81	0.31
5	Women	-0.65	0.49	-1.57	0.35
6	Alpha	0.00	0.22	-0.44	0.40
7	Deviance	38.35	4.93	32.54	51.49

³⁶Minimal priors are used to avoid outliers. As a robustness check, I assume homogenous causal effects and pool the data. The results of the statistical model are found in the Appendices. The results are consistent with the primary models, with greater statistical significance.

³⁷The convergence diagnostics are found in the Appendices.

To account for alternative factors that affect both party competition, and the application of cash transfer programs, I use several control variables in each model.³⁸ I control for ethnicity for several reasons. Elections in Malaysia are typically defined by ethnic voting (Brown 2005, Pepinsky 2009). Malays are the dominant ethnic group in Malaysia, and are more likely to receive BR1M handouts than other ethnicities (Kaji Data Research 2017).³⁹ I control for the level of urbanization in each state, because cash transfer programs impact urban and rural populations differently (Cross & Johnson 2011). Also, because urban populations vote differently than rural ones, for example there are significant differences between East and West Malaysia (Welsh 2004).⁴⁰ I control for gender, because women have increasingly played an important role in Malaysian politics, particularly Malay-Muslim women’s groups (Mohamad* 2004). The data for each of the control variables is taken from the 2010 Malaysian census. Finally, because voters might support a party leader instead of policy, I use the number of seats UMNO won in each state. This accounts for the possible effect Mahathir had on voters when he switched to the opposition party.⁴¹

³⁸I use Bayesian Model Averaging to assess model uncertainty. The results are found in the Appendices. While the posterior inclusion probabilities (PIP) for the independent variables are relatively high, which supports their inclusion in the model, the PIPs for the control variables are relatively low. However, because of their theoretical importance, I include them in the statistical modeling. As Montgomery and Nyan (2010) state, it is important to “use theory to guide our judgments...”

³⁹To measure ethnicity, I use the number of Malays per capita in each state. This lets us examine the partisan attachment of Malay voters. This also accounts for religion as well. Islam plays an increasingly contentious role in Malaysian society, and BR1M has been distributed to Malay-Muslims over other religious or ethnic groups (63% of respondents in the sample discussed earlier are Muslim (Kaji Data Research 2017)).

⁴⁰Urbanization is the proportion of urban population as a percentage of the entire population, and defined as “Gazetted areas with their adjoining built-up areas, which had a combined population of 10,000 or more at the time of the Census 2010”

⁴¹Since the BN’s vote share started to decline before BR1M, it is possible that UMNO was becoming less competitive, and then used BR1M to regain votes. This would make the relationship endogenous. I use a Hausman test to address questions of endogeneity, the p-values were 0.75 and 0.98 for each model respectively, and therefore, the variables can be considered exogenous.

4.8 ANALYSIS

I contend that, in Malaysia, the cash transfer program BR1M was used by UMNO as part of their party brand to win votes. The theory posits that partisan voters, in this instance poor, rural Bumiputera voters, attach themselves to the party brand because of their political identity. These voters feel a greater attachment to UMNO's party brand relative to other parties, for example, PAS. This is true of a clientelistic party or voter as well. When a clientelistic party decides to opt out of clientelism and become more programmatic, a longstanding client of the party will not benefit in the same manner. However, a voter who does not identify as a client may be more inclined to vote for a newly programmatic party. As perceptions of the party changes over time, partisan attachment shifts along with it.

With a Bayesian linear model, the mean of a quantity of interest can be interpreted in the same fashion as a frequentist linear regression model. This is to say that a one unit increase in variable X is expected to increase variable Y by the value of the corresponding beta. Substantively, this means that a decrease in the vote share of the incumbent party is an increase in party competition. In looking at the results in tables 4 and 5 on the following pages, a coefficient of -0.440 and -0.640 for the 2013 and 2018 models, suggests a negative relationship between the number of BR1M handouts and party competition.⁴²

As seen in Tables 4.4 and 4.5, both the 2013 and 2018 model outcomes specify that as the number of BR1M handouts increase in each state or federal territory, the vote share of the incumbent party decreases accordingly. When looking at Figures

⁴²While predicted values are not useful in a linear model, because the probability of observing an exact value under a cumulative distributive function is zero, they are useful for assessing model fit. In looking at figures B.4 and B.5 for the 2013 and 2018 models in the appendices, the exact value is within the 90% confidence interval 87.5%.

4.6 and 4.7, the relationship is negative and statistically significant at 95% for both models. So leading up to the 13th General Election, poor voters identified as the UMNO party prototype, relative to other parties. However, UMNO voters started to reject the party in 2013, and completely rejected the party brand, and therefore the distribution of BR1M handouts, in 2018.

Table 4.5: 2013 Model Statistical Outcomes

	Ethnicity	Handouts	Mahathir	Urbanization	Women	Deviance
Mean	0.46	-0.44	-0.11	-0.08	-1.07	33.69
SD	0.35	0.24	0.26	0.25	0.41	4.93

Table 4.6: 2018 Model Statistical Outcomes

	Ethnicity	Handouts	Mahathir	Urbanization	Women	Deviance
Mean	0.45	-0.64	-0.35	-0.25	-0.63	39.27
SD	0.42	0.27	0.30	0.28	0.49	4.93

BR1M was a cornerstone of Prime Minister Najib’s development plan, and was certainly used by UMNO to maximize votes. This is to say, Najib used BR1M to salvage some measure of support for the party. Therefore, its negative relationship with party competition in both elections has important implications for the party system in Malaysia. It suggests that not only are party brands changing, but voters are changing with them.

Exactly how certain can we be about this effect? In this case, uncertainty can be defined as the amount of the posterior distribution that is equal to and less than zero. For example, we can say there is a 95% probability of finding a value equal to or less than -0.64, and a 5% probability of finding a value above -0.64 for the 2018 election. Likewise, one can say there is a 95% probability of finding a value equal to or less than -0.44, and a 5% probability of finding a value above -0.44 for the 2013 election. This indicates a strong probability that BR1M negatively influenced the incumbent

vote share during both elections.

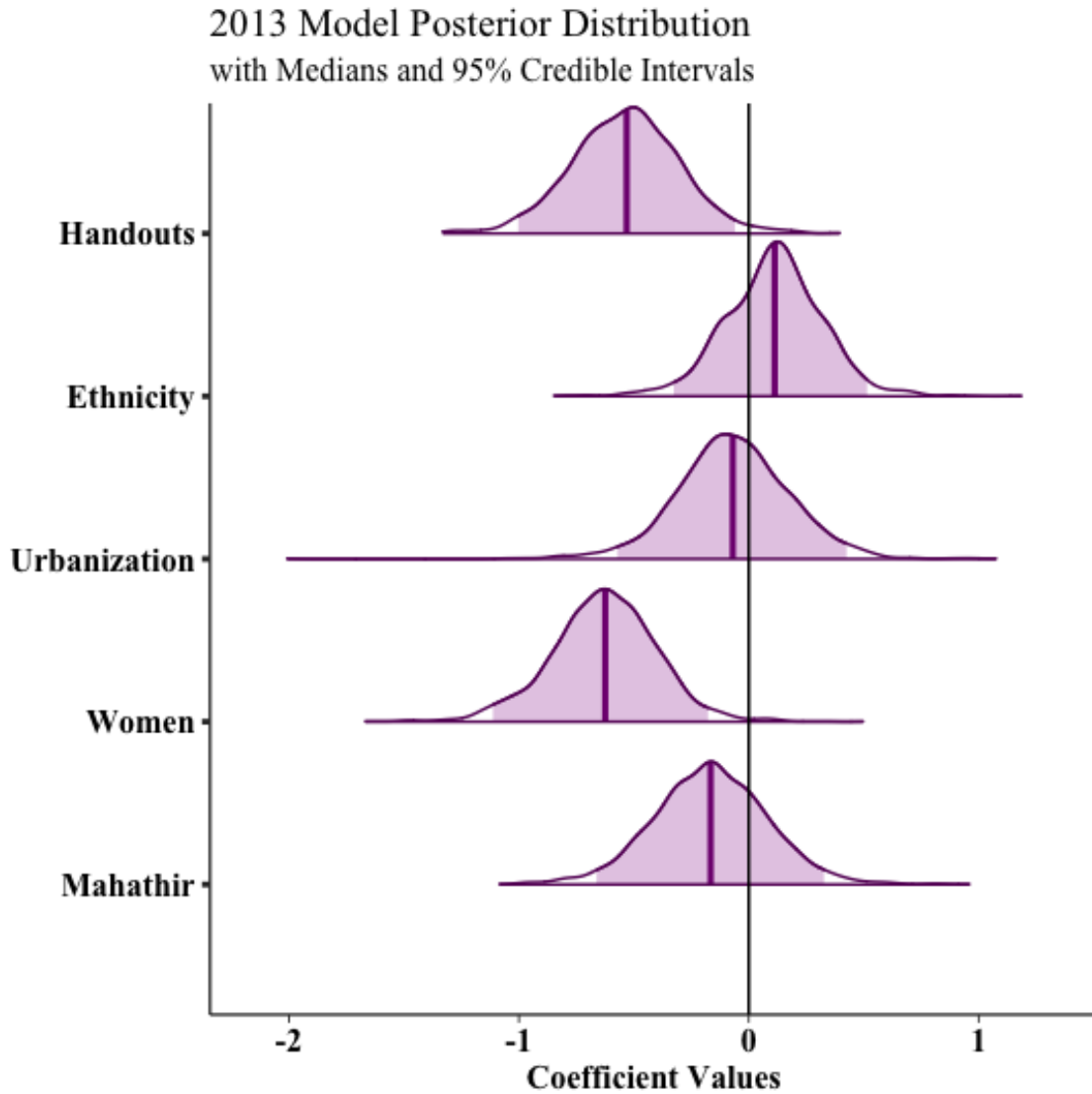


Figure 4.6: Posterior Distribution for the 2013 Election with 95% Credible Intervals

Even still, BR1M is not the only dimension to UMNO's platform; ethnicity is also important. In fact, not only is ethnicity a critical aspect of Malaysian elections, but it has been a fundamental aspect of UMNO's party brand for decades. While not statistically significant in any of the models, ethnicity is positive. This suggests that

as the number of Malays increase, party competition decreases. This seems relatively intuitive, and supports much of the literature that says Malaysian politics is driven by ethnicity.

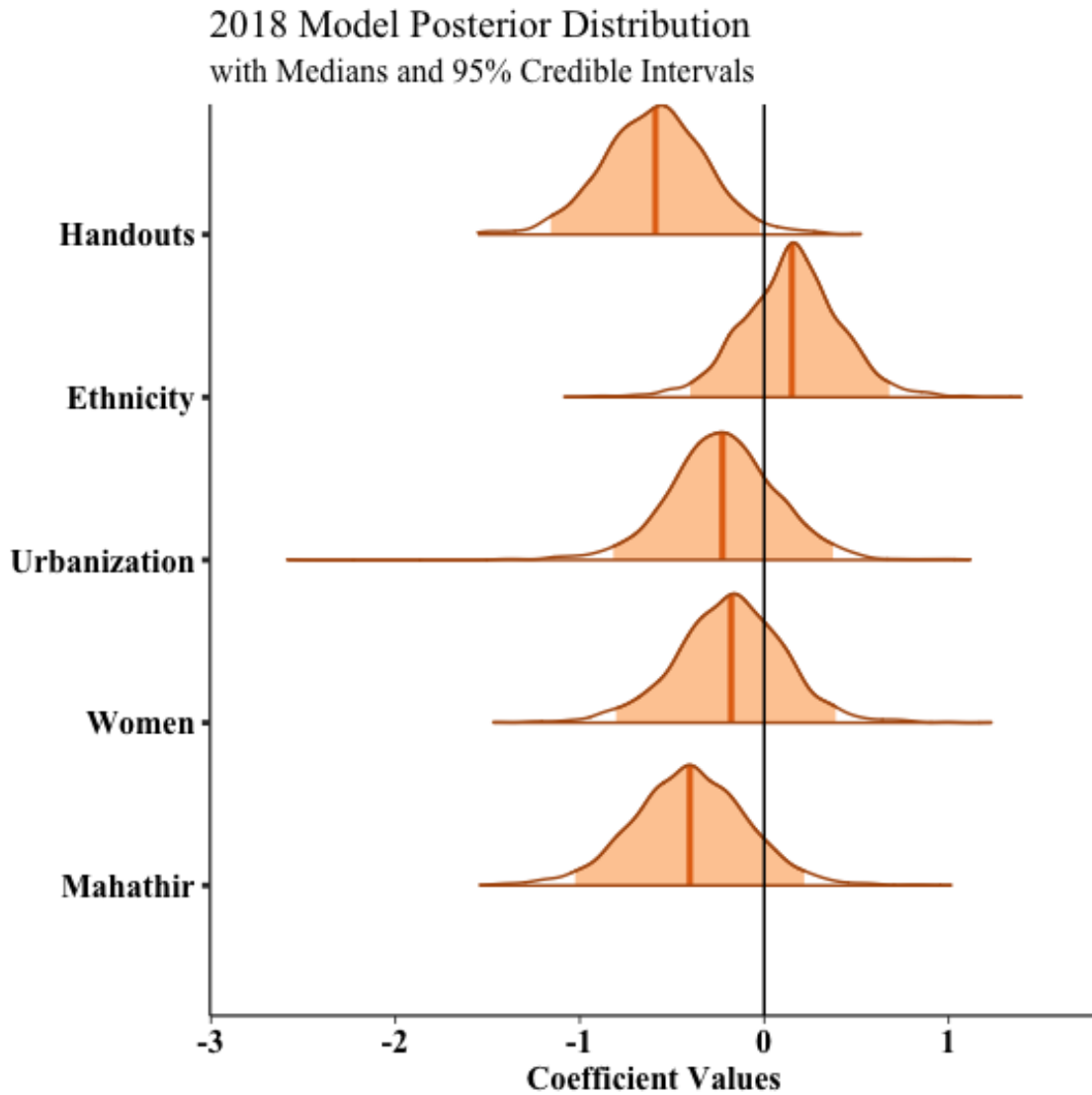


Figure 4.7: Posterior Distribution for the 2018 Election with 95% Credible Intervals

Urbanization is negative in all of the statistical models. This suggests that urban voters largely rejected UMNO and the distribution of BR1M. This too is intuitive.

Urban areas have long been the stronghold of the opposition. Furthermore, wealthy voters are less likely to support income redistribution. "As government's intervention in the economy for the sake of income redistribution is something citizens may support or reject on strictly ideological grounds" (Corrêa 2015, 64). Indeed, there is evidence to support this, Schaffer (2005) argues that urban, middle-class voters view the poor as nothing more than cattle, easily bought by political parties. Nonetheless, while it is negative, urbanization is not statistically significant in any of the statistical models.

4.9 DISCUSSION

Previous scholarship addressing the relationship between cash transfer programs and party competition have left the question open for debate. Using Malaysia as a case study, I build upon a theory of party branding to explain how cash transfer programs are used by political parties to increase their likelihood of retaining office. In the case of Malaysia, the governing coalition used BR1M as political capital to maximize Malay votes. The party brand wasn't inconsistent, it was strengthened through BR1M, nevertheless, this plan failed. Exploring the relationship between BR1M and failure in the electorate gives us the opportunity to add to social science literature in several ways.

It lets us expand Lupu's (2016) theory of party branding to include a discussion of party competition, while also testing its robustness outside of Latin America. At least in the case of Malaysia, the evidence presented in this paper supports the theory that parties develop brands to connect with voters. In particular, it supports aspects of the theory that explain how changing partisan attitudes affects the electoral space, when they reject the party brand, and the implications this has for party competition. This ultimately allows for greater theory building within the study of comparative party

politics. This also allows us to explore circumstances surrounding the BNs surprising defeat by the opposition coalition.

In this instance, the rejection of BR1M – and UMNO – by voters is an example of changing partisan attitudes in the face of numerous scandals, rising cost of goods, and declining purchasing power in Malaysia. As Lupu (2016) points out, this is the tipping point in which even otherwise loyal voters reject the party brand. As such, the litany of corruption and abuses in the delivery of clientelism undermined the receipt of targeted benefits, aligning clients and non-clients alike, against the BN. Furthermore, the complete rejection of the BN by non-Malays combined with the mutual emphasis on Malay-Muslims in rural areas left UMNO and PAS competing for the same block of votes (Ostwald, Schuler & Chong 2019). As Ostwald et al argue, this puts UMNO at a crossroads going forward; either rebrand as a more progressive party, or continue with its Bumiputera-first agenda.

Given UMNO has recently forged an alliance with PAS, it is likely going to be the latter. This solidifies the ethnic and religious agenda in rural Malaysia, while also giving PAS access to votes and resources outside historically Malay-Muslim strongholds. The Sungai Kandis by-election three months after the 2018 General Election illustrates this perfectly. PAS chose not to field a candidate, while encouraging its supporters to vote for UMNO, “claiming that PH threatened Malay rights and the primacy of Islam” (Ostwald, Schuler & Chong 2019, 51). Yet, the UMNO candidate lost by approximately 23% of the vote, which only serves to underscore the core theoretical contribution of this paper, that doubling down on the UMNO brand currently fails even in the Malay heartland. However, despite its contributions, there are still inherent limitations.

The statistical models do not take into account neither hardline supporters of UMNO, nor single-issue voters who care nothing for the implementation of BR1M

and support UMNO based purely on ethnicity or religious piety. This likely points to why ethnicity is positive and statistically significant in the pooled model. While a theory of party branding can add to the explanation of UMNO's sudden decline, the use of BR1M should be taken as a dimension of their decline in electoral fortunes, and not a complete answer for the success of opposition parties. Most importantly, I do not have data from the district level, hence I cannot comment on the variation in the relationship that occurs within states, only between them. Finally, more work needs to be done concerning all aspects of this paper. The literature concerning cash transfer programs, specifically BR1M, and contemporary Malaysian electoral politics is an open field of study.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The ultimate goal of this project was to use Southeast Asia, specifically Malaysia, as a case study to explore changes in party competition in developing democracies through shifts in party attachment. In particular, I seek to explain how shifts in party attachment impacts both party competition, and the strategies that politicians use to win office. The theoretical explanation for this depends stems from party brands as a way for political parties to connect with voters. Strong connections between parties and voters are essential to effective democratic institutions, yet in new democracies these relationships are poorly understood.

The existing explanations for these changes stem from Lipset and Rokkan's seminal (1967) text. They argue that shifting social cleavages explains changes in competition between political parties, effectively changing the party system itself. That salient cleavages such as ethnicity, religion, and class become more or less dominant within society, and as they shift, parties and voter attachment shifts with them. However, this paradigm is problematic for several reasons. Chief among them that the cleavage paradigm is less applicable to emerging democracies.

Certainly social cleavages exist. The role that ethnicity has played in shaping politics in Southeast Asia cannot be denied. Moreover, I do not think that it will become less important as ethnic groups in places like Terengganu in Northern Malaysia, or Aceh in the Sumatra Islands of Indonesia face the political problems of the 21st

century. Likewise, I do not think that religion or class will become less important in Manila or Kuching. It is simply that these cleavages are not the only thing that defines linkages between voters and political parties. Clientelism also plays a role in this.

The Lipset & Rokkan paradigm does not adequately address strategic relationships between voters and parties. Clientelism, and more specifically vote buying are a critical part of party politics in the region. This is also true of developing democracies in general, where parties are weaker and democratic norms have yet to be institutionalized. To take into account the role that clientelism and vote buying play in the changing dynamics of competition, I offer an alternative theoretical framework.

Using an adaption of Noam Lupu's theory of party branding, I argue that when a party's platform, or *brand* is clearly defined, some voters form strong attachments to it, so strong in fact they may support the party regardless of its performance in office (Lupu 2016). However, at times, the party brand dilutes or weakens due to some degree of inconsistency. When this happens, a voter's partisan attachment to the party erodes and they start considering the party's policies while in office more seriously when making voting decisions. Political parties then become susceptible to voter's retrospective evaluations. When established or incumbent parties both dilute their brand, fragment, and perform poorly in office, partisan realignment occurs and voters defect en masse to new or opposition parties. Party competition then increases.

In the case of Malaysia UMNO actually doubled down on their brand, shifting to a more pro-Malay stance over time, and that that muddies its ethnic cooperation brand and this leads to a loss of support from Chinese, Indians and middle-class Malays, further driving UMNO towards its base in an unvirtuous cycle. This is to say, they stuck with what put them into office, a reliance upon poor, rural Malays. One dimension of my dissertation is to further understand this party brand, and how it

relates to voters. While there has been substantial work involving electoral politics in neighboring countries, for example the Philippines, Malaysia has been comparatively understudied. To what extent is clientelism a part of this?

Vote Buying is shown to be a significant factor. With a difference of means of 0.13, which suggest that during the 2013 Malaysian general election vote buying happened approximately 13% of the time. Typically the most you could do at this point is compare difference of means between subgroups. However, using a statistical estimator created by Kosuke Imai, one can take the results of the list experiment and use them to make predictions at the individual level. When you look at the predicted values for differences between ethnic groups, Malays are more likely to sell their vote.

Likewise, when you look at income in Malaysia, poorer voters are more likely to sell their vote. When you consider rural and urban voters, those voters living in towns with less than 10,000 people are more likely to sell their vote than voters in larger cities. Finally, voters that support the dominant coalition are more likely to sell their vote. In both a general difference of means test, and a more sophisticated statistical model, the BN's party brand was in full effect during during the 2013 election.

In looking at the data closer, a clear pattern emerges. Where the BN used vote buying to mobilize poor, rural Malay voters, opposed to other ethnic groups or social classes. This is both consistent with the clientelism literature more broadly, and congruent with the application of party branding to Malaysia. This helps us further understand the role of the BN voter prototype. It also allows us to understand how clientelism was used in Malaysia. Although this is not the only aspect of their brand. UMNOs party brand is also evident in their use of their welfare policy BR1M. Created in 2012 as part of the Prime Minister's development program. it's used to both as a redistribution policy for poor voters, and to solidify the Malay-first agenda.

BR1M is clearly used a part of the party brand. The distribution of handouts

for both 2012 and 2017 were skewed to rural parts of Malaysia. This also true in regards to ethnicity, for both 2012 and 2017, handouts were distributed in states with a higher Malay populations. In many instances it was delivered from the party offices themselves. Furthermore, BR1M has increased in both number of handouts and amounts in the 5 years since 2012. The BN relied upon their party brand. They assumed that these voters would continue to support them.

Using the incumbent vote share as a proxy for competition during the 2013 and 2018 elections, it is clear that the number of BR1M handouts have a negative and statistically significant effect on party competition. This effect is even stronger when you pool the data. It's not significant, but ethnicity is also positive in all of the models. Again, I do not think ethnicity is going to suddenly become less important. Just that clientelism is also necessary to consider, relative to ethnic or class voting blocs. Although certainly someone could say, "I'll take your handout, but still not vote for you." In the end, BR1M would be the last example of this brand dilution that put the nail in the coffin, when even UMNOs base rejected them.

The policies implemented by UMNO and the BN resulted in an odd development where an urban, middle-class Malay demographic has developed. These are largely bureaucrats living in Kuala Lumpur who no longer want to subsidize the lives of rural Malaysians. The BN failed to recognize the growing political power of this group, and their shifting political preferences. Instead of trying to accommodate these voters, and develop multiple dimensions of their brand, they stuck with what got them into office. However, urban Malay voters, who might have accepted BNs mobilization strategies twenty or thirty years prior, completely rejected the party brand. So they relied upon poor, rural voters. Rural voters have increasingly become dissatisfied with ineffective development policies – these policies are the very backbone of UMNOs brand. Yet throughout the sixty years UMNO was in power, Malays were still the poorest ethnic

group.

Likewise, there is evidence through recent surveys that a majority of Malay voters want amend constitutional advantages for Bumiputera. The aspects of the economic plans critical to UMNOs success. They argue these benefits are not effective, and only serve to divide Malaysia. Still, there is evidence to suggest that instead of rebranding, UMNO is going to continue with the Malay-first agenda. For example, they've recently developed a partnership with the Islamic party, PAS. Nonetheless, despite the work that has been made, there are rather significant theoretical and empirical limitations.

Despite attempts to address it, endogeneity is likely to be an issue. For example, it is certainly possible that payments or benefits increased as support for UMNO eroded in the early 2000s. This is paralleled in figure 1.1 found in the Introduction, where clientelism in Malaysia spikes when party competition increased in the early 2000s. In the 2013 election, there was significant vote buying in Perak, where elections were quite competitive. Consider what Summers (2004, 98) suggests about The 19th century United States when he states, "a rustic who put himself up for sale in the morning could be bought relatively cheap, the smart ones waited until later to take bids, knowing that the tensions of an election day would press party workers to raise their prices, usually."

In addition, political institutions are going influence the role that clientelism plays in society. At a macro-level democratization and the overall strengthening of democratic institutions decreases the effectiveness of clientelism. At the ground level, certainly the rules that govern elections matter. Electoral systems that encourage personal votes likely also encourage clientelism. For instance, personalized contests allow for representatives and parties to organize and monitor money and goods traded for votes. In the American context electoral rules prohibiting clientelism existed between the 1860s and 1880s. However, these were routinely violated, it wasn't until

the Australian ballot was implemented, and coupled with a professional bureaucratic class, did vote buying and patron-client relationships decline.¹

The last great reform of the Gilded Age, the Australian ballot, made votes as commodities worthless. Without knowing if they were getting a return on their investment, poll workers would withhold payments; meanwhile parties no longer needed to invest resources into inefficient mobilization strategies. This had the largest effect in rural areas, where everyone knew one another. It leveled the playing field between wealthy and poor parties, and once the curtain closed on the polling booth, allowed tenant farmers to vote without fear of reprisal from wealthy creditors. Free of bribery and intimidation, reformers expected the electorate to develop well-informed policy preferences, nonetheless, voters more or less voted the same (Kuo 2018). As one New Hampshire Republican wrote to Senator William Chandler, “the ballot law which we have used in this state for four years . . . has served the state well and the Republican party better” (Summers 2004).

Moreover, there are conceptual issues with the nature of clientelism. It is open for debate whether parties target core supporters, or swing voters. There is less of a risk when targeting existing supporters, while offering swing voters is useful when an election is particularly competition. While it makes a contribution, the work in this dissertation does not exactly settle that argument. Likewise, goods are not equal. Obviously vote buying is clientelistic, and certainly illegal, whereas other forms of redistributive policies might be more programmatic and less clientelistic, for example, pork barrel projects for specific ethnic groups in a district are likely patronage, but far less clientelistic than outright vote buying.

In addition to conceptual issues, there are also limitations to the data as well. I

¹It also largely disenfranchised illiterate or slow readers (Summers 2004).

attempt to make an argument based upon two recent elections. However, the survey experiment does not measure the use of patron-client relationships over time. It only examines the role it played in the 2013 election. Thus, I can only speculate as to the shifting views toward clientelism in Malaysia. Likewise, the BR1M data only extends to the state level. While it contributes to explanations for variations in voter behavior between states, it cannot explain variation in vote behavior within states. For example, voters who support PAS over UMNO in Terengganu and Kelantan.

More importantly, this does not speak to the continuing success of the opposition. Some would argue, the PH has not effectively dealt with Malaysia's debt and they could very well lose the next election. In looking at history, both the LDP in Japan, and the PRI in Mexico came back to win office after losing. It is absolutely possible for the BN to do the same. Ultimately, this could simply be a matter of vote choice, not party attachment. I could absolutely be wrong about the underlying mechanics of all this.

I tried to connect theory in Latin America to data collected in Southeast Asia. Although, because of the limitations in my dissertation, my contribution should be considered a contribution to theory generation, instead of investigation into the causal relationship between vote buying and party competition. Yet, still there is a contribution to be made. This project illuminates answers to a number of puzzles within comparative politics. It addresses literature that questions whether or not vote buying is effective, and what this means for the quality of governance. It addresses the nature of party politics in Southeast Asia, filling a gap in the nature of dynamics of clientelism and party competition in Malaysia. These questions are important, and deserve answers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abney, Ronni, James Adams, Michael Clark, Malcolm Easton, Lawrence Ezrow, Spyros Kosmidis & Anja Neundorf. 2013. "When does valence matter? Heightened valence effects for governing parties during election campaigns." *Party Politics* 19(1):61–82.
- Acemoglu, Daron & James A Robinson. 2005. *Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Achen, Christopher H. 1992. "Social psychology, demographic variables, and linear regression: Breaking the iron triangle in voting research." *Political behavior* 14(3):195–211.
- Achen, Christopher H. 2002. "Parental socialization and rational party identification." *Political Behavior* 24(2):151–170.
- Aldrich, John H. 1995. *Why parties?: The origin and transformation of political parties in America*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ali, Syed Husin. 2015. *Ethnic relations in Malaysia: Harmony & conflict*. Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
- Allardt, Erik. 1968. "Past and Emerging Political Cleavages". In *Party Systems, Party Organizations, and the Politics of New Masses*, ed. Otto Stammer. Berlin: Institut für politische Wissenschaft an der Freien Universität Berlin.
- Allison, Paul D. 1999. *Logistic Regression: Using the SAS System: Theory and Application*. SAS Institute.
- Ambardi, Kuskridho. 2008. The making of the Indonesian multiparty system: A cartelized party system and its origin PhD thesis The Ohio State University.
- Ames, Barry. 1970. "Bases of Support for Mexico's Dominant Party." *American Political Science Review* 64(01):153 – 167.

- Ananta, Aris, Evi Nurvidya Arifin & Leo Suryadinata. 2005. *Emerging democracy in Indonesia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Anderson, Christopher J. 2000. "Economic voting and political context: a comparative perspective." *Electoral studies* 19(2):151–170.
- Anderson, Christopher J. 2007. "The end of economic voting? Contingency dilemmas and the limits of democratic accountability." *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 10:271–296.
- Anderson, Thomas P. 1988. *Politics in Central America: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen & Philip Edward Jones. 2010. "Constituents' Responses to Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3):583–597.
- Aristotle & Stephen Everson. 1996. *Aristotle: The Politics and the Constitution of Athens*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arriola, Leonardo R. 2009. "Patronage and political stability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(10):1339–1362.
- Auyero, Javier. 2001. *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Aziz, Rahimah Abdul. 2012. "New Economic Policy and the Malaysian multiethnic middle class." *Asian Ethnicity* 13(1):29–46.
- Barnes, Samuel H, Peter McDonough & Antonio Lopez Pina. 1985. "The development of partisanship in new democracies: the case of Spain." *American Journal of Political Science* pp. 695–720.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1986. "Issue voting under uncertainty: An empirical test." *American Journal of Political Science* pp. 709–728.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2002. "Beyond the running tally: Partisan bias in political perceptions." *Political behavior* 24(2):117–150.

- Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860– 1980: The Class Cleavage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartolini, Stefano. 2005a. “La Formation des Clivages.” *Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée* 12(1):9 – 34.
- Bartolini, Stefano. 2005b. *Restructuring Europe. Centre formation, System Building and Political Structuring Between the Nation-State and the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bartolini, Stefano & Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilization of European Electorate 1885-1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baumer, Donald C & Howard J Gold. 1995. “Party images and the American electorate.” *American Politics Quarterly* 23(1):33–61.
- Bersih Media Statement. 2018. <https://www.bersih.org/media-statement-29-april-2018-bersih-2-0-unveils-new-line-up-in-the-hall-of-shame-10-days-to-polling-day/>.
- Besley, Timothy. 2006. *Principled agents?: The political economy of good government*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Besley, Timothy, Torsten Persson & Daniel M Sturm. 2010. “Political Competition, Policy and Growth: Theory and Evidence from the US.” *The Review of Economic Studies* 77(4):1329–1352.
- Blair, Graeme & Kosuke Imai. 2012. “Statistical Analysis of List Experiments.” *Political Analysis* 20(1):47–77.
- Blair, Graeme, Kosuke Imai & Jason Lyall. 2014. “Comparing and Combining List and Endorsement Experiments: Evidence from Afghanistan.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4):1043 – 1063.
- Bloom, David E, Patricia H Craig & Pia N Malaney. 2001. “Study of Rural Asia: Volume 4. The Quality of Life in Rural Asia.”
- Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and redistribution*. Cambridge University Press.

- Bolton, John. 13 October 2007. "Ethnic Policy Blunts Malaysia."
- Bornschiefer, Simon. 2009. *Cleavage Politics in Old and New Democracies: A Review of the Literature and Avenues for Future Research*. Florence: European University Institute – Max Weber Programme.
- Bradburn, Norman M, Seymour Sudman, Ed Blair & Carol Stocking. 1978. "Question Threat and Response Bias." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 4(2):221–234.
- Brandi, Clara & Max Büge. 2014. *A Cartography of the New Middle Classes in Developing and Emerging Countries*. Dt. Inst. für Entwicklungspolitik.
- Brant, Rollin. 1990. "Assessing proportionality in the proportional odds model for ordinal logistic regression." *Biometrics* pp. 1171–1178.
- Braun, Sebastian Kwame. 2008. *Indonesia's Presidential Democracy: A Factor of Stability Or Instability?* Dissertation de.-Verlag im Internet.
- Brière, Bénédicte de la & Laura B Rawlings. 2006. Examining conditional cash transfer programs: a role for increased social inclusion? Technical report The World Bank.
- Brooks, Clem, Paul Nieuwbeerta & Jeff Manza. 2006. "Cleavage-Based Voting Behavior in Cross-National Perspective: Evidence from Six Postwar Democracies." *Social Science Research* 35(1):88–128.
- Brown, Graham K. 2005. "Playing the (non) ethnic card: The electoral system and ethnic voting patterns in Malaysia." *Ethnopolitics* 4(4):429–445.
- Brueckner, Jan K. 2006. "Fiscal federalism and economic growth." *Journal of Public Economics* 90(10-11):2107–2120.
- Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno & Susan C Stokes. 2004. "Vote buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* pp. 66–88.
- Buehler, Michael & Paige Tan. 2007. "Party-candidate relationships in Indonesian local politics: A case study of the 2005 regional elections in Gowa, South Sulawesi Province." *Indonesia* (84):41–69.

- Callahan, William A. 2017. *Pollwatching, elections and civil society in Southeast Asia*. Routledge.
- Calvo, Ernesto & Maria Victoria Murillo. 2004. "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4):742 – 757.
- Camp, Roderic A. 1999. *Politics in Mexico: the Decline of Authoritarianism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Canare, Tristan A, Ronald U Mendoza & Mario Antonio Lopez. 2018. "An empirical analysis of vote buying among the poor: Evidence from elections in the Philippines." *South East Asia Research* 26(1):58–84.
- Case, William. 1993. "Semi-democracy in Malaysia: withstanding the pressures for regime change." *Pacific Affairs* 66(2):183–205.
- Case, William. 2013. *Politics in Southeast Asia: democracy or less*. Routledge.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why ethnic parties succeed: Patronage and ethnic head counts in India*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2007. *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge University Press chapter Counting heads: A theory of voter and elite behavior in patronage democracies.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2009. "Why voters in patronage democracies split their tickets: Strategic voting for ethnic parties." *Electoral Studies* 28(1):21–32.
- Chibber, Pradeep & Mariano Torcal. 1997. "Elite Strategy, Social Cleavages, and Party Systems in a New Democracy Spain." *Comparative Political Studies* 30(1):27 – 54.
- Chubb, Judith. 1982. *Patronage, Power and Poverty in Southern Italy: A Tale of Two Cities*. Cambridge University Press.
- Clapham, Christopher S. 1982. *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*. Burns & Oates.

- Clark, Terry Nichols, Seymour Martin Lipset & Michael Rempel. 1993. "The Declining Political Significance of Social Class." *International Sociology* 8(3):293 – 316.
- Clark, William Roberts & Matt Golder. 2006. "Rehabilitating Duverger's theory: Testing the mechanical and strategic modifying effects of electoral laws." *Comparative Political Studies* 39(6):679–708.
- Clogg, Clifford C & Edward S Shihadeh. 1994. *Statistical models for ordinal variables*. Vol. 4 Sage Publications, Inc.
- Cohn, Bernard S. 1996. *Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton University Press.
- Cole, Shawn. 2009. "Fixing Market Failures or Fixing Elections? Agricultural Credit in India." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1(1):219–250.
- Collier, Ruth Berins & David Collier. 2002. *Shaping the Political Arena*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Converse, Philip E. 1964. *Ideology and Discontent*. London: Collier Macmillan chapter The nature of belief systems in mass publics.
- Converse, Philip E. 1969. "Of time and partisan stability." *Comparative political studies* 2(2):139–171.
- Converse, Philip E. 1976. *The dynamics of party support: Cohort-analyzing party identification*. Vol. 35 Sage Publications, Inc.
- Coppedge, Michael. 1998. "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems." *Party Politics* 4(4):547 – 568.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2001. *Political parties and democracy*. Johns Hopkins University Press. chapter Political Darwinism in Latin America's lost decade, pp. 173–205.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press chapter Explaining democratic deterioration in Venezuela through nested inference, pp. 289–316.

- Corrêa, Diego Sanches. 2015. "Conditional cash transfer programs, the economy, and presidential elections in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* pp. 63–85.
- Corstange, Daniel. 2009. "Sensitive Questions, Truthful Answers? Modeling the List Experiment with LISTIT." *Political Analysis* 17(1):45 – 63.
- Corstange, Daniel. 2010. Vote buying under competition and monopsony: Evidence from a list experiment in lebanon. In *Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC*.
- Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, Gary W & Mathew D McCubbins. 1986. "Electoral Politics as a Redistributive Game." *Journal of Politics* 48(2):370 – 389.
- Croissant, Aurel, Gabriele Bruns & Marei John. 2002. "Electoral politics in Southeast and East Asia: A comparative perspective." *Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia* pp. 321–68.
- Cross, Tiare & Andrew Johnson. 2011. "Cash transfer programming in urban emergencies: A Toolkit for Urban Emergencies."
- Cruz, Cesi. 2013. "'Social Networks and the Targeting of Illegal Electoral Strategies'".
- Dahl, Robert Alan. 1973. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. Yale University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1996. Comparative Politics: Micro-Behavioral Perspectives. In *A New Handbook of Political Science*. New York: Oxford University Press pp. 336–352.
- Dalton, Russell J & Steven Weldon. 2007. "Partisanship and Party System Institutionalization." *Party Politics* 13(2):179 – 196.
- De La O, Ana L. 2013. "Do conditional cash transfers affect electoral behavior? Evidence from a randomized experiment in Mexico." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1):1–14.

- De Sousa, Luís. 2008. Clientelism and the quality (ies) of democracy. Public and policy aspects. Technical report DIS Working Paper 2008/2, Center for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy, Central European University, Budapest.
- Deegan-Krause, Kevin. 2006. *Elected Affinities: Democracy and Party Competition in Slovakia and the Czech Republic*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Deegan-Krause, Kevin. 2007. "New Dimensions of Political Cleavage". In *Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour*, ed. Russell J. Dalton & Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 538–556.
- DeMaio, Theresa J. 1984. *Surveying subjective phenomena*. Vol. 2 Russell Sage Foundation chapter Social desirability and Survey Measurement: A Review.
- Deschouwer, Kris. 2001. "Freezing Pillars and Frozen Cleavages: Party Systems and Voter Alignments in the Consociational Democracies". In *Party Systems and Voter Realignments Revisited*, ed. Lauri Karvonen & Stein Kuhnle. New York: Routledge Press pp. 205–221.
- Desposato, Scott W. 2007. "How does vote buying shape the legislative arena." *Elections for sale: The causes and consequences of vote buying* pp. 101–22.
- Díaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estévez & Beatriz Magaloni. 2009. "Welfare benefits, canvassing, and campaign handouts." *Consolidating Mexico's democracy: The 2006 presidential campaign in comparative perspective* pp. 229–45.
- Díaz-Jiménez, Oniel Francisco & Igor Vivero-Ávila. 2015. "The dimensions of competition in the Mexican party system (1979-2012)." *Convergencia Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (68).
- Dinc, I Serdar. 2005. "Politicians and banks: Political influences on government-owned banks in emerging markets." *Journal of financial economics* 77(2):453–479.
- Dix, Robert H. 1989. "Cleavage Structures and Party Systems in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 22(1):23 – 37.
- Dix, Robert H. 1992. "Democratization and the Institutionalization of Latin American Political Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* 24(4):488–511.

- Dixit, Avinash & John Londregan. 1996. "The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics." *Journal of Politics* 58:1132 – 1155.
- Dogan, Mattei. 1995. "Erosion of Class Voting and of the Religious Vote in Western Europe." *International Social Science Journal* 47(4):525 – 538.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. "An economic theory of political action in a democracy." *Journal of Political Economy* 65(2):135–150.
- Drazen, Allan & Marcela Eslava. 2006. Pork Barrel Cycles. Technical report National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Duch, Raymond M & Randolph T Stevenson. 2008. *The economic vote: How political and economic institutions condition election results*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dunning, Thad & Susan Stokes. 2010. How Does the Internal Structure of Political Parties Shape their Distributive Strategies? In *Prepared for the workshop Political Parties in the Developing World, Princeton University*.
- Eisenstadt, S Shmuel Noah & Ren   Lemarchand. 1981. *Political Clientelism: Patronage and Development*. Sage Publications.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah & Luis Roniger. 1984. *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society*. Cambridge University Press.
- Eley, Geoff. 2002. *Forging democracy: The history of the left in Europe, 1850-2000*. Oxford University Press.
- Elkins, David J. 1974. "The measurement of party competition." *American Political Science Review* 68(2):682–700.
- Epstein, Daniel J. 2009. "Clientelism versus ideology: Problems of party development in Brazil." *Party Politics* 15(3):335–355.
- Erb, Maribeth & Priyambudi Sulistiyanto. 2009. *Deepening democracy in Indonesia?: direct elections for local leaders (Pilkada)*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Espina, Rene. 2001. "Minding Other People's Business." Manila Bulletin.

- Evans, Geoffrey & Stephen Whitefield. 1999. "The Emergence of Class Politics and Class Voting in Post-Communist Russia". In *The End of Class Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 254–277.
- Fearon, James D. 1999. "Electoral accountability and the control of politicians: selecting good types versus sanctioning poor performance." *Democracy, accountability, and representation* 55:61.
- Fearon, James D & David D Laitin. 1996. "Explaining interethnic cooperation." *American political science review* 90(4):715–735.
- Ferris Stephen, Winer, Stanley & Bernard Grofman. 2014. "Measuring Electoral Competitiveness: The Parliamentary System of Canada, 1867 - 2011."
- Fionna, Ulla & Dirk Tomsa. 2017. Parties and Factions in Indonesia: The Effects of Historical Legacies and Institutional Engineering. Technical report ISEAS Working Paper.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1978. "Economic retrospective voting in American national elections: A micro-analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* pp. 426–443.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. "Retrospective voting in American national elections."
- Foner, Eric. 1970. *Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Franklin, Charles H & John E Jackson. 1983. "The dynamics of party identification." *American Political Science Review* 77(4):957–973.
- Freire, André. 2006. "Left-right ideological identities in new democracies." *Pôle Sud* (2):153–173.
- Funston, John. 2001. *Government & Politics in Southeast Asia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Galiani, Sebastian, Nadya Hajj, Pablo Ibarra, Nandita Krishnaswamy & Patrick J McEwan. 2016. Electoral reciprocity in programmatic redistribution: Experimental Evidence. Technical report National Bureau of Economic Research.

- Geddes, Barbara. 1991. "A game theoretic model of reform in Latin American democracies." *American Political Science Review* 85(2):371–392.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1963. *Peddlers and princes: Social development and economic change in two Indonesian towns*. Vol. 318 University of Chicago Press.
- Gellner, Ernest, John Waterbury & Sydel Silverman. 1977. *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*. Duckworth London.
- Gera, Weena. 2016. "The politics of ethnic representation in Philippine bureaucracy." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39(5):858–877.
- Gerber, Alan & Donald Green. 1999. "Misperceptions about perceptual bias." *Annual review of political science* 2(1):189–210.
- Gerber, Alan & Donald P Green. 1998. "Rational learning and partisan attitudes." *American journal of political science* 42(3):794–818.
- Glassman, Ronald. 2016. *The New Middle Class and Democracy in Global Perspective*. Springer.
- Gloria, Glenda M. 1995. "Makati: one city, two worlds." in: *Boss: Five Case Studies of Local Politics in the Philippines, Pasig: Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism* pp. 65–101.
- Goldthorpe, John H. 2001. "Class and Politics in Advanced Industrial Societies". In *The Breakdown of Class Politics: A Debate on Post-Industrial Stratification*, ed. Terry Nichols Clark & Seymour Martin Lipset. Woodrow Wilson Center Press pp. 105–120.
- Gomez, Edmund Terence. 1998. *Political Party Systems and Democratic Development in East and Southeast Asia: Southeast Asia*. Vol. I Ashgate Pub Ltd chapter Malaysia.
- Gomez, Edmund Terence. 2012. "Monetizing politics: Financing parties and elections in Malaysia." *Modern Asian Studies* 46(5):1370–1397.

- Gomez, Edmund Terence & Johan Saravanamuttu. 2013. *The New Economic Policy in Malaysia: Affirmative action, horizontal inequalities and social justice*. National University of Singapore Press.
- Gomez, Edmund Terence & Kwame Sundaran Jomo. 1999. *Malaysia's political economy: Politics, patronage and profits*. CUP Archive.
- Gomez, Edmund Terence & Surinder Kaur. 2014. Struggling for Power: Policies, Coalition Politics and Elections in Malaysia. In *Paper presented at the conference on "Dominant Party Systems", University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 9-10, 2014*.
- Gonzalez-Ocantos, Ezequiel, Chad Kiewiet De Jonge, Carlos Meléndez, Javier Osorio & David W Nickerson. 2012. "Vote Buying and Social Desirability Bias: Experimental Evidence from Nicaragua." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1):202 – 217.
- Gordin, Jorge P. 2002. "The political and partisan determinants of patronage in Latin America 1960–1994: A comparative perspective." *European Journal of Political Research* 41(4):513–549.
- Gottlieb, Jessica & Katrina Kosec. 2017. "When Political Competition Leads to Bad Outcomes: Evidence on the Role of Coordination Failure from a Developing Democracy."
- Green, Donald P, Bradley Palmquist & Eric Schickler. 2004. *Partisan hearts and minds: Political parties and the social identities of voters*. Yale University Press.
- Green, Donald P & Srinivasan Vasudevan. 2018. "Diminishing the Effectiveness of Vote Buying: Experimental Evidence from a Persuasive Radio Campaign in India."
- Greene, Zachary & Shaun Bevan. 2018. "How Many Parties? A More Sensitive Approach to Measuring the Effective Number of Parties."
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2003. "Political competition and the politicization of the state in East Central Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(10):1123–1147.

- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2007. *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party competition and state exploitation in post-communist democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hasan, Zoya. 2006. "Bridging a Growing Divide? The Indian National Congress and Indian Democracy." *Contemporary South Asia* 15(4):473–488.
- Hatfield, John William. 2015. "Federalism, taxation, and economic growth." *Journal of Urban Economics* 87:114–125.
- Heath, Anthony F, Roger M Jowell & John K Curtice. 2001. *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices: Party Policies and Voter Choices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hellmann, Olli. 2011. *Political parties and electoral strategy: the development of party organization in East Asia*. Springer.
- Hicken, Allen. 2007. *Elections for sale: The causes and consequences of vote buying*. Lynne Rienner Publishers Boulder, CO chapter How do rules and institutions encourage vote buying?
- Hicken, Allen. 2011. "Clientelism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14:289 – 310.
- Hicken, Allen, Stephen Leider, Nico Ravanilla & Dean Yang. 2014. "Temptation in Vote-Selling: Evidence from a Field Experiment in the Philippines."
- Hindley, Donald. 1970. "Alirans and the Fall of the Old Order." *Indonesia* (9):23–66.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states*. Harvard university press.
- Hiskey, Jonathan Thomas. 1999. Does Democracy Matter?: Electoral Competition and Local Development in Mexico PhD thesis University of Pittsburgh.
- Hogg, Michael A, Dominic Abrams, Sabine Otten & Steve Hinkle. 2004. "The social identity perspective: Intergroup relations, self-conception, and small groups." *Small group research* 35(3):246–276.
- Holt, Michael F. 2003. *The rise and fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian politics and the onset of the Civil War*. Oxford University Press.

- Hopkin, Jonathan. 2006. Conceptualizing political clientelism: Political exchange and democratic theory. In *APSA annual meeting, Philadelphia*. Vol. 31 pp. 46–18.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Huber, Evelyne & John D Stephens. 2000. “Partisan Governance, Women’s Employment, and the Social Democratic Service State.” *American Sociological Review* 65(3):323–342.
- Huber, John D, Georgia Kernell & Eduardo L Leoni. 2005. “Institutional context, cognitive resources and party attachments across democracies.” *Political Analysis* 13(4):365–386.
- Huddy, Leonie. 2001. “From social to political identity: A critical examination of social identity theory.” *Political psychology* 22(1):127–156.
- Imai, Kosuke. 2011. “Multivariate Regression Analysis for the Item Count Technique.” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 106(494):407–416.
- Indridason, Indridi. 2006. Coalitions and clientelism: Explaining cross-national variation in patterns of coalition formation. In *Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (2003) and the ECPR Joint Sessions (2005)*. Revised.
- Ishiyama, John & Krystal Fox. 2006. “What Affects the Strength of Partisan Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa?” *Politics & Policy* 34(4):748–773.
- Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese miracle: the growth of industrial policy: 1925-1975*. Stanford University Press.
- Jomo, KS, Rajah Rasiah & Greg Felker. 2013. *Industrial technology development in Malaysia: industry and firm studies*. Routledge.
- Joseph, Gilbert M & Timothy J Henderson. 2002. *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Jung, Eunsook. 2008. “Giving up partisan politics?” *Inside Indonesia* 94.

- Jusko, Karen Long. 2010. The Electoral Foundations of Redistributive Politics. In *Conference on Redistribution, Public Goods Political Market Failures*, Yale University.
- Kaji Data Research. 2017. Kajian Tentang Persepsi Rakyat Terhadap Bantuan Rakyat 1 Malaysia (BR1M). Technical report Kaji Data Research.
- Kayser, Mark Andreas & Christopher Wlezien. 2011. "Performance pressure: Patterns of partisanship and the economic vote." *European Journal of Political Research* 50(3):365–394.
- Keefer, Philip. 2006. "Programmatic Parties: Where Do They Come From and Do They Matter?" *Development Research Group* .
- Keefer, Philip. 2007. "Clientelism, Credibility, and the Policy Choices of Young Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4):804 – 821.
- Kenney, Charles Dennison. 2004. *Fujimori's coup and the breakdown of democracy in Latin America*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Kerkvliet, Benedict J. 2002. *Everyday politics in the Philippines: Class and status relations in a Central Luzon village*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kettering, Sharon. 1986. "Patrons, Clients and Brokers in Seventeenth Century France."
- Key Jr, Valdimer O. 1955. "A theory of critical elections." *The Journal of Politics* 17(1):3–18.
- Key, Valdimar O. 1961. *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. Knopf.
- Key, Valdimer O. 1966. *The Responsible Electorate*. Harvard University Press.
- Khalid, Muhammed Abdul. 2014. *The colour of inequality: Ethnicity, class, income and wealth in Malaysia*. MPH Group Publishing.
- Kim, Yong-Ho. 1998. "Korea". In *Political Party Systems and Democratic Development in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Wolfgang Sachsenroder & Ulrike E. Frings. Vol. II East Asia Aldershot: Ashgate Press.

- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. *The transformation of European social democracy*. Cambridge university press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6-7):845 – 879.
- Kitschelt, Herbert & Steven I Wilkinson. 2007. "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction". In *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press pp. 1–49.
- Kitschelt, Herbert & Yi-Ting Wang. 2014. "Programmatic parties and party systems: Opportunities and constraints." *Politics meets policies: The emergence of programmatic political parties* pp. 43–73.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski & Gabor Toka. 1999. *Post-communist party systems: competition, representation, and inter-party cooperation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Klesner, Joseph L. 1994. *The Politics of Economic Restructuring: State-Society Relations and Regime Change in Mexico*. Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California San Diego chapter Realignment or Dealignment? Consequences of Economic Crisis and Restructuring for the Mexican Party System.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn. 2004. *Social Structure and Party Choice in Western Europe: A Comparative Longitudinal Study*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kokpol, Orathai. 2002. *Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia*. Number Singapore: Office for Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia. chapter Electoral politics in Thailand.
- Kopecký, Petr. 2011. "Political competition and party patronage: Public appointments in Ghana and South Africa." *Political Studies* 59(3):713–732.
- Kreuzer, Marcus & Vello Pettai. 2003. "Patterns of Political Instability: Affiliation Patterns of Politicians and Voters in Post-Communist Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38(2):76 – 98.

- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1999. "Movements of the Left, Movements of the Right: Putting the Mobilization of Two New Types of Social Movement into Political Context". In *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, ed. Herbert Kitschelt Peter Lange Gary Marks John D. Stephens. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschie & Timotheos Frey. 2006. "'Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared'." *European Journal of Political Research* 45(6):921–956.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschie, Timotheos Frey et al. 2008. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kroh, Martin & Peter Selb. 2009. "Inheritance and the dynamics of party identification." *Political Behavior* 31(4):559.
- Kuenzi, Michelle & Gina Lampbright. 2001. "Party System Institutionalization in 30 African Countries." *Party Politics* 7(4):437 – 468.
- Kuo, Didi. 2018. *Clientelism, Capitalism, and Democracy: The Rise of Programmatic Politics in the United States and Britain*. Cambridge University Press.
- Labonne, Julien. 2013. "The local electoral impacts of conditional cash transfers: Evidence from a field experiment." *Journal of Development Economics* 104:73–88.
- Lachat, Romain. 2007. *A Heterogeneous Electorate: Political Sophistication, Predisposition Strength, and the Voting Decision Process*. Nomos: Baden-Baden.
- Land, Carl H. 1977. "The Dyadic Basis of Clientelism." *Schmidt et al., eds., pp. xiii-xxvii*.
- Laquian, Aprodicio A & Eleanor R Laquian. 1998. *Joseph Ejercito "Erap" Estrada, the Centennial President*. Institute of Asian Research University of British Columbia.
- Layman, Geoffrey C, Thomas M Carsey & Juliana Menasce Horowitz. 2006. "Party polarization in American politics: Characteristics, causes, and consequences." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:83–110.

- Lee, Guan Hock. 2013. *Steadily amplified rural votes decide Malaysian elections*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Levitsky, Steven. 2007. "From populism to clientelism? The transformation of labor-based party linkages in Latin America." *H. Kitschelt y S. Wilkinson, Patrons, Clients and Policies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge* .
- Levitsky, Steven & Lucan A Way. 2010. *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the cold war*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S & Mary Stegmaier. 2000. "Economic determinants of electoral outcomes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3(1):183–219.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S & Mary Stegmaier. 2007. Economic models of voting. In *The Oxford handbook of political behavior*.
- Licio, Elaine Cristina, Lucio R Rennó & Henrique Carlos de O de Castro. 2009. "Bolsa Família e voto na eleição presidencial de 2006: em busca do elo perdido." *Opinião Pública* 15(1):31–54.
- Liddle, R William & Saiful Mujani. 2007. "Leadership, party, and religion: Explaining voting behavior in Indonesia." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(7):832–857.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral systems and party systems: A study of twenty-seven democracies, 1945-1990*. Oxford University Press.
- Lindbeck, Assar & Jörgen W Weibull. 1987. "Balanced-Budget Redistribution as the Outcome of Political Competition." *Public Choice* 52(3):273 – 297.
- Lindberg, Staffan I & Minion KC Morrison. 2008. "Are African voters really ethnic or clientelistic? Survey evidence from Ghana." *Political Science Quarterly* 123(1):95–122.
- Linos, Elizabeth. 2013. "Do conditional cash transfer programs shift votes? Evidence from the Honduran PRAF." *Electoral studies* 32(4):864–874.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53(01):69 – 105.

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1963. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Vol. 330 Doubleday Garden City, NY.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin & Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction*. New York: The Free Press.
- Lockwood, Natalie J. 2013. "International vote buying." *Harv. Int'l LJ* 54(1):97.
- LoGerfo, James P. 2000. *Money and Power in Provincial Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press chapter Beyond Bangkok: the provincial middle class in the 1992 protests, pp. 221–270.
- Loh, Francis. 2001. *Where has (Ethnic) Politics Gone? The Case of the BN Non-Malay Politicians and Political Parties*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press chapter The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia.
- Loh, Francis Kok-Wah & Jayaratnam Saravanamuttu. 2003. *New politics in Malaysia*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies Singapore.
- Luebbert, Gregory M. 1991. *Liberalism, fascism, or social democracy: Social classes and the political origins of regimes in interwar Europe*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Lupu, Noam. 2016. *Party brands in crisis: partisanship, brand dilution, and the breakdown of political parties in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lupu, Noam & Susan C Stokes. 2009. "The social bases of political parties in Argentina, 1912–2003." *Latin American Research Review* 44(1):58–87.
- Lyne, Mona M. 2007. Rethinking economics and institutions: the voter's dilemma and democratic accountability. In *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, ed. Herbert Kitschelt & Steven I Wilkinson. New York: Cambridge University Press pp. 159 – 181.
- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press Cambridge.

- Magaloni, Beatriz, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros & Federico Estévez. 2007. "Clientelism and Portfolio Diversification: A Model of Electoral Investment with Applications to Mexico." *Patrons, Clients, and Policies* pp. 182–205.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. *Rethinking party systems in the third wave of democratization: the case of Brazil*. Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 2006. "State Deficiencies, Party Competition, and Confidence in Democratic Representation in the Andes." *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes* pp. 295–345.
- Mainwaring, Scott & Edurne Zoco. 2007. "Political Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies." *Party Politics* 13(1):155–78.
- Mainwaring, Scott & Timothy R Scully. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mair, Peter. 1997. *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mair, Peter. 2006b. "Cleavages". In *Handbook of Party Politics*, ed. Richard S. Katz & William Crotty. London: Sage Press.
- Malaysian Department of Statistics. 2010. "Population by States and Ethnic Groups." Technical Report.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. "Citizen and subject."
- Manacorda, Marco, Edward Miguel & Andrea Vigorito. 2011. "Government transfers and political support." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3(3):1–28.
- Manning, Carrie. 2005. "Assessing African Party Systems after the Third Wave." *Party Politics* 11(6):707–727.
- Manow, Philip. 2002. "What explains political patronage in western Europe? defects of party competition or formative moments in the history of political mass-mobilization." *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 43(1):20–45.

- Manow, Philip & Philip Wettengel. 2006. Parliamentary Elections and Party Patronage: An Empirical Study of the German Top Ministerial Bureaucracy at the Federal and State Level, 1957-2005. In *workshop on Political Parties and Patronage, ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Nicosia*. pp. 25–30.
- Manza, Jeff & Clem Brooks. 1999. *Social Cleavages and Political Change: Voter Alignments and US Party Coalitions: Voter Alignments and US Party Coalitions*. Oxford University Press.
- Mares, Isabela. 2003. *The politics of social risk: Business and welfare state development*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mares, Isabela, Aurelian Muntean & Tsveta Petrova. 2017. “Pressure, Favours, and Vote-buying: Experimental Evidence from Romania and Bulgaria.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 69(6):940–960.
- Martin, Pierre. 2000. *Comprendre les évolutions électorales: la théorie des réalignements revisitée*. Les Presses de Sciences Po.
- Mauzy, Diane. 2013. Malaysia: Malay political hegemony and ‘coercive consociationalism’. In *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation*. Routledge pp. 118–139.
- Mavrogordatos, George. 1983. *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936*. Univ of California Press.
- Mayer, William G. 2008. *The swing voter in American politics*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Mietzner, Marcus. 2013. *Money, power, and ideology: Political parties in post-authoritarian Indonesia*. NUS Press.
- Mohamad*, Maznah. 2004. “Women’s engagement with political Islam in Malaysia.” *Global Change, Peace & Security* 16(2):133–149.
- Molina, José E & Pérez B Carmen. 2004. “Radical change at the ballot box: causes and consequences of electoral behavior in Venezuela’s 2000 elections.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 46(1):103–134.

- Montgomery, Jacob M & Brendan Nyhan. 2010. "Bayesian model averaging: Theoretical developments and practical applications." *Political Analysis* 18(2):245–270.
- Moreno, Alejandro Menéndez. 1999. *Political cleavages: Issues, parties, and the consolidation of democracy*. Westview Press.
- Morgan, Jana. 2011. *Bankrupt representation and party system collapse*. Penn State Press.
- Mortimer, Rex. 1969. "Class, social cleavage and Indonesian communism." *Indonesia* (8):1–20.
- Mozaffar, Shaheen Scarrit, James R & Glen Galaich. 2003. "Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 29(3):379 – 390.
- Müller, Wolfgang. 2006. *Handbook of Party Politics*. Sage London chapter Party patronage and party colonization of the state, pp. 189–195.
- Muno, Wolfgang. 2010. Conceptualizing and measuring clientelism. In *Paper to be presented at the workshop on Neopatrimonialism in Various World Regions, GIGA German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg*.
- Neumann, Franz. 1956. *The Democratic and Authoritarian State*. New York: The Free Press.
- Ng, Jason Wei Jian, Gary John Rangel, Santha Vaithilingam & Subramaniam S Pillay. 2015. "The 2013 Malaysian Elections: Ethnic Politics or Urban Wave?" *The Journal of East Asian Studies* 15(2):167–198.
- Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot." *American Political Science Review* 102(01):19 – 31.
- Nichter, Simeon & Brian Palmer-Rubin. 2015. *Clientelism, declared support, and Mexico's 2012 campaign*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Nielson, Daniel L & Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1999. "Constitutional Change in Colombia Policy Adjustment Through Institutional Reform." *Comparative Political Studies* 32(3):313 – 341.

- Noor, Farish A. 2004. *Islam Embedded: The Historical Development of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party PAS (1951-2003) Vol. 1*. Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.
- Nugent, Paul. 2001. "Winners, Losers and Also Rans: Money, Moral Authority and Voting Patterns in the Ghana 2000 Election." *African Affairs* pp. 405–428.
- Nupia, Oskar. 2011. "Anti-poverty programs and presidential election outcomes: Familias en Acción in Colombia." *Documento CEDE - Universidad de los Andes. Bogotá* (2011-14).
- Ockey, Jim. 2005. Creating the Thai Middle Class. In *Culture and privilege in capitalist Asia*. Routledge pp. 247–267.
- O'Connell, Ann A. 2006. *Logistic regression models for ordinal response variables*. Number 146 Sage.
- O'Dwyer, Conor. 2004. "Runaway state building: how political parties shape states in postcommunist Eastern Europe." *World Politics* 56(4):520–553.
- Ostwald, Kai. 2013. "How to win a lost election: Malapportionment and Malaysia's 2013 general election." *The Round Table* 102(6):521–532.
- Ostwald, Kai, Paul Schuler & Jie Ming Chong. 2019. "Triple Duel: The Impact of Coalition Fragmentation and Three-Corner Fights on the 2018 Malaysian Election." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 37(3):31–55.
- Ottaway, Marina. 1999. *Africa's New Leaders: Democracy or State Reconstruction?* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Pacek, Alexander & Benjamin Radcliff. 1995. "The Political Economy of Competitive Elections in the Developing World." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(1):745–759.
- Pakulski, Jan & Malcolm Waters. 1996. *The Death of Class*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Press.
- Pensute, Chanintorn. 2014. "Vote Buying and Violence in Thai Provincial Elections."

- Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2009. "The 2008 Malaysian elections: an end to ethnic politics?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 9(1):87–110.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2009b. *Economic crises and the breakdown of authoritarian regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2017. "Regions of Exception." *Perspectives on Politics* 15(4):1034–1052.
- Perez, Yarahuan G. 2006. Policy making and electoral politics: Three essays on the political determinants of social welfare spending in Mexico, 1988–2003. PhD thesis University of Chicago.
- Piattoni, Simona. 2001. *Clientelism, Interests and Democratic Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Platzdasch, Bernhard. 2009. *Islamism in Indonesia: Politics in the emerging democracy*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2007. "Regime change and ethnic cleavages in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11):1302–1327.
- Powell Jr, G Bingham & Guy D Whitten. 1993. "A cross-national analysis of economic voting: taking account of the political context." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(2):391–414.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2010. *Democracy and the limits of self-government*. Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam & John Sprague. 1986. "Paper stones: A history of electoral socialism."
- Queirolo, Rosario. 2009. "El rol de los programas de transferencias monetarias en la reelección del Frente Amplio en 2009." *Del cambio a la continuidad. Ciclo electoral* 2010.
- Quimpo, Nathan Gilbert. 2007. "The Philippines: political parties and corruption." *Southeast Asian Affairs* pp. 277–294.

- Randall, Vicky. 2006. "Political Parties and Social Structure in the Developing World". In *Handbook of Party Politics*, ed. Richard S. Katz & William Crotty. London: Sage Press.
- Remmer, Karen L. 2007. "The Political Economy of Patronage: Expenditure Patterns in the Argentine Provinces, 1983–2003." *Journal of Politics* 69(2):363 – 377.
- Reynolds, John Francis. 1988. *Testing democracy: Electoral Behavior and Progressive Reform in New Jersey, 1880-1920*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Riedl, Rachel B. 2008. *Institutions in New Democracies: Variations in African Political Party Systems* PhD thesis Princeton: Princeton University.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2002. "Party-society linkages and democratic representation in Latin America." *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 27(53):9–34.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2014. *Changing Course in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Kenneth M & Erik Wibbels. 1999. "Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic, Institutional, and Structural Explanations." *American Political Science Review* 93(3):575 – 590.
- Robinson, R & V.R. Hadiz. 2004. *Reorganizing Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. Routledge.
- Rodan, Garry & Caroline Hughes. 2014. *The politics of accountability in Southeast Asia: The dominance of moral ideologies*. OUP Oxford.
- Roniger, Luis. 2004. "Political Clientelism, Democracy, and Market Economy." *Comparative Politics* pp. 353 – 375.
- Rose, Richard, ed. 1974. *Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook*. New York: The Free Press.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sawasdee, Siripan Nogsuan. 2006. *Thai political parties in the age of reform*. Institute of Public Policy Studies.
- Scarritt, James R. 2006. "The Strategic Choice of Multiethnic Parties in Zambia's Dominant and Personalist Party System." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 44(2):234–256.
- Schady, Norbert R. 2000. "The political economy of expenditures by the Peruvian Social Fund (FONCODES), 1991–95." *American Political Science Review* 94(2):289–304.
- Schaffer, Frederic C. 2002a. Disciplinary Reactions: Alienation and the Reform of Vote Buying in the Philippines. In *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston Marriott Copley Place, Sheraton Boston and Hynes Convention Center, Boston, Massachusetts, Aug 28, 2002*.
- Schaffer, Frederic C. 2004. "Vote Buying in East Asia." *Global Corruption Report 2004* pp. 83 – 87.
- Schaffer, Frederic C. 2007. *Elections for sale: The causes and consequences of vote buying*. Lynne Rienner Publishers Boulder, CO chapter Why study vote buying.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2002b. "What is Vote Buying?" Presented at the Center for International Studies, MIT: Cambridge, August 26-27.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2005. "Clean Elections and the Great Unwashed Vote Buying and Voter Education in the Philippines." *Unpublished*.
- Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2008. *The hidden costs of clean election reform*. Cornell University Press.
- Schmidt, Steffen W, Laura Guasti, Carl H Landé & James C Scott. 1977. *Friends, Followers, and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism*. University of California Press Berkeley.
- Scott, James C. 1969. "Corruption, machine politics, and political change." *American Political Science Review* 63(4):1142–1158.
- Scott, James C. 1972. "The erosion of patron-client bonds and social change in rural Southeast Asia." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 32(1):5–37.

- Seawright, Jason. 2012. *Party System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*. Stanford University Press.
- Selway, Joel Sawat. 2011. "The measurement of cross-cutting cleavages and other multidimensional cleavage structures." *Political Analysis* 19(1):48–65.
- Serdán, Alberto. 2006. "Programas Sociales y Elecciones, analisis de los programas de combate a la pobreza en contextos electorales durante la administracion de Vicente Fox." *Fundar, Centro de Análisis e Investigación. México DF*. Avances y Retrocesos, una Evaluación Ciudadana del Sexenio 2000-2006 (5).
- Shamsul, A Baharrudin. 2001. "The redefinition of politics and the transformation of Malaysian pluralism." *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia* pp. 227–252.
- Shamsul, AB. 1996a. "The Construction and Transformation of a Social Identity—Malayness and Bumiputerness Re-examined." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 52:1–19.
- Shamsul, AB. 1996b. "Debating about Identity in Malaysia: A Discourse Analysis." *Southeast Asian Studies* 34(3):566 – 600.
- Shamsul, Amri B. 1997. "The economic dimension of Malay nationalism." *The Developing Economies* 35(3):240–261.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1972. "The strategy of ambiguity: Uncertainty and electoral competition." *American Political Science Review* 66(2):555–568.
- Sidel, John Thayer. 1999. *Capital, coercion, and crime: Bossism in the Philippines*. Stanford University Press.
- Singer, Matthew. 2009. Buying Voters with Dirty Money: The Relationship Between Clientelism and Corruption. In *APSA 2009 Toronto Meeting Paper*.
- Slater, Dan. 2004. "Indonesia's accountability trap: Party cartels and presidential power after democratic transition." *Indonesia* (78):61–92.

- Slater, Dan. 2018. "Party Cartelization, Indonesian-Style: Presidential Power-Sharing and the Contingency of Democratic Opposition." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 18(1):23–46.
- Snyder, James M & Michael M Ting. 2002. "An informational rationale for political parties." *American Journal of Political Science* pp. 90–110.
- Solé-Ollé, Albert. 2006. "The effects of party competition on budget outcomes: Empirical evidence from local governments in Spain." *Public Choice* 126(1-2):145–176.
- Stanley, Harld W & Richard G Nieme. 1993. Partisanship and group support over time. In *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, ed. Harold W Stanley & Herbert F Weisberg. Third edition ed. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press pp. 350 – 367.
- Stockton, Hans. 2001. "Political Parties, Party Systems, and Democracy in East Asia: Lessons from Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 34(1):94 – 119.
- Stokes, Donald. 1992. "Valence politics." *Electoral politics* pp. 141–164.
- Stokes, Susan C. 2005. "'Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina'." *American Political Science Review* 99(03):315 – 325.
- Stokes, Susan C. 2007. Political Clientelism. In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*. Oxford University Press.
- Stokes, Susan C, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno & Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: the Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, Susan & Thad Dunning. 2008. Clientelism as Persuasion and as Mobilization. In *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, USA*.
- Strauch, Judith. 1981. *Chinese village politics in the Malaysian state*. Harvard University Press.

- Sukma, Rizal. 2009. "Indonesian politics in 2009: defective elections, resilient democracy." *Bulletin of Indonesian economic studies* 45(3):317–336.
- Summers, Mark Wahlgren. 2004. *Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics*. Univ of North Carolina Press.
- Szwarcberg, Mariela. 2015. *Mobilizing Poor Voters: Machine Politics, Clientelism, and Social Networks in Argentina*. Cambridge University Press.
- Tavits, Margit. 2005. "The Development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(1):283 – 298.
- Tavits, Margit. 2008. "Party Systems in the Making: The Emergence and Success of New Parties in New Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 38(1):113 – 133.
- Tavits, Margit & Natalia Letki. 2013. "From values to interests? The evolution of party competition in new democracies." *The Journal of Politics* 76(1):246–258.
- Taya, Shamsuddin L. 2010. "The politicization of ethnic sentiments in the Southern Philippines: The case of the Bangsamoro." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 30(1):19–34.
- Teng, Koytry. 2015. *Clientelism and Party Institutionalization in Post-Authoritarian/Post-Conflict Regimes: The Case of Cambodia* PhD thesis Ohio University.
- Thomassen, Jacques JA. 2005. *The European Voter. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford University Press.
- Tomsa, Dirk. 2008. *Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the post-Suharto era*. Routledge.
- Tomsa, Dirk. 2013. *Party politics in Southeast Asia: clientelism and electoral competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. Routledge chapter What Type of Party.

- Torcal, Mariano & Scott Mainwaring. 2003. "Individual Level Anchoring of the Vote and Party System Stability: Latin America and Western Europe." *Departamento de Ciencia Politica y Relaciones Internacionales Working Paper* 17:2003.
- Trantidis, Aris. 2015. "Clientelism and the classification of dominant party systems." *Democratization* 22(1):113–133.
- Tucker, Joshua Aaron, Peter Lange, Robert H Bates, Ellen Comisso, Peter Hall, Joel Migdal & Helen Milner. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*. Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, Mark. 1995. "Imagining the middle class in the Philippines." *Pilipinas* 25:87–101.
- Tzelgov, Eitan & Yi-Ting Wang. 2016. "Party ideology and clientelistic linkage." *Electoral Studies* 44:374–387.
- Ufen, Andreas. 2006. *Political parties in post-Suharto Indonesia: Between politik aliran and 'Philippinisation'*. German Institute for Global and Area Studies.
- Ufen, Andreas. 2009. "The transformation of political party opposition in Malaysia and its implications for the electoral authoritarian regime." *Democratization* 16(3):604–627.
- Ufen, Andreas. 2013. "Introduction: The 2013 Malaysian Elections: Business as Usual or Part of a Protracted Transition?" *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 32(2):3–17.
- Umeda, Michio. 2013. "The Evolution of Japan's Party System: Politics and Policy in an Era of Institutional Change." *Social Science Japan Journal* 16(2):312–314.
- Van Biezen, Ingrid & Daniele Caramani. 2007. "Cleavage Structuring in Western vs Central and Eastern Europe: State Formation, Nation-Building and Economic Modernization." *Helsinki: ECPR Joint Sessions* .
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000. *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

- Van de Walle, Nicolas & Kimberly Smiddy Butler. 1999. "Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa's Illiberal Democracies." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 13(1):14–28.
- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin." *World politics* 55(03):399 – 422.
- Weakliem, David L & Anthony F Heath. 1994. "Rational Choice and Class Voting." *Rationality and Society* 6(2):243 – 270.
- Weakliem, David L & Anthony F Heath. 1999. The Secret Life of Class Voting: Britain, France, and the United States Since the 1930s. In *The End of Class Politics*, ed. Geoffrey Evans. Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 97 – 136.
- Weghorst, Keith R & Staffan I Lindberg. 2013. "What drives the swing voter in Africa?" *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3):717–734.
- Weingast, Barry R. 1995. "The economic role of political institutions: Market-preserving federalism and economic development." *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* pp. 1–31.
- Weisberg, Herbert F & Steven Greene. 2003. "The political psychology of party identification." *Electoral democracy* pp. 83–124.
- Weiss, Meredith L. 2006. *Protest and possibilities: Civil society and coalitions for political change in Malaysia*. Stanford University Press.
- Weiss, Meredith L. 2007. "What a little democracy can do: comparing trajectories of reform in Malaysia and Indonesia." *Democratization* 14(1):26–43.
- Weiss, Meredith L. 2014. *Electoral dynamics in Malaysia: Findings from the grassroots*. Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2006. "Partisanship and protest: the politics of workfare distribution in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* pp. 122–147.
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2012. "What wins votes: Why some politicians opt out of clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3):568–583.

- Welsh, Bridget. 2004. *The State of Malaysia: Ethnicity, Equity, and Reform*. Routledge chapter Real change? Elections in the reformasi era.
- Welsh, Bridget. 2016. *The End of UMNO? Essay's on Malaysia's Dominant Party*. Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2007. "Explaining changing patterns of party-voter linkages in India." *Patrons, clients, and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition* pp. 110–140.
- Wilson, James Q & Edward Banfield. 1963. *City politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Woon, Jonathan & Jeremy C Pope. 2008. "Made in Congress? Testing the electoral implications of party ideological brand names." *The Journal of Politics* 70(3):823–836.
- Yuriko, Takahashi. 2007. "The Political Economy of Poverty Alleviation: The Case of PROGRESA in Mexico." *Journal of International Cooperation Studies* 14(3).
- Zakaria, Ahmad. 1989. *Democracy in Developing Countries: Asia*. Lynne Rienner chapter Malaysia: Quasi Democracy in a Divided Society.
- Zaller, John R. 1992. *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. Cambridge university press.
- Zucco, Cesar. 2008. "The president's 'new' constituency: Lula and the pragmatic vote in Brazil's 2006 presidential elections." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40(1):29–49.
- Zucco, Cesar. 2011. "Conditional cash transfers and voting behavior: Redistribution and clientelism in developing democracies." *Unpublished manuscript. Princeton University* .
- Zucco, Cesar. 2013. "When payouts pay off: Conditional cash transfers and voting behavior in Brazil 2002–10." *American journal of political science* 57(4):810–822.

Zuckerman, Alan S, Josip Dasovic & Jennifer Fitzgerald. 2007. *Partisan families: The social logic of bounded partisanship in Germany and Britain*. Cambridge University Press.

APPENDIX A

MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER 4

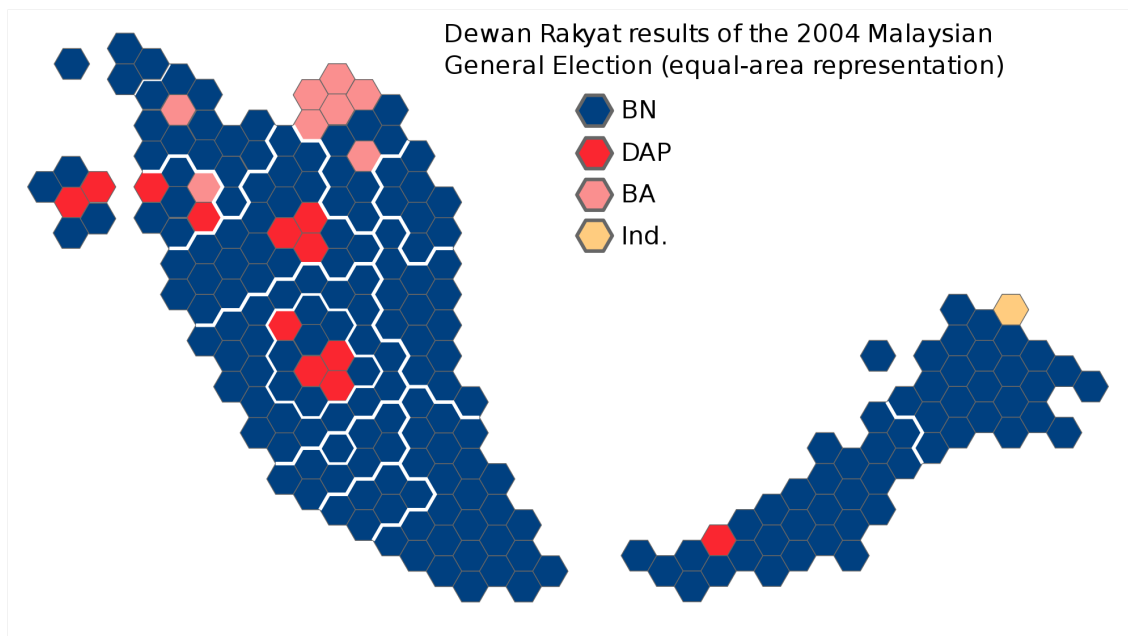


Figure A.1: Dewan Rakyat Results 2004

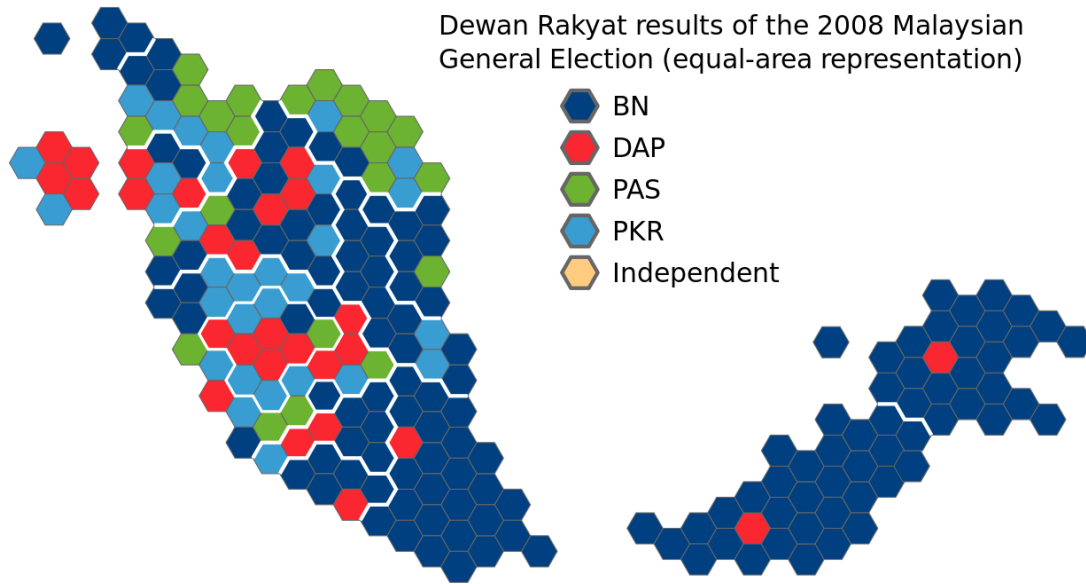


Figure A.2: Dewan Rakyat Results 2008

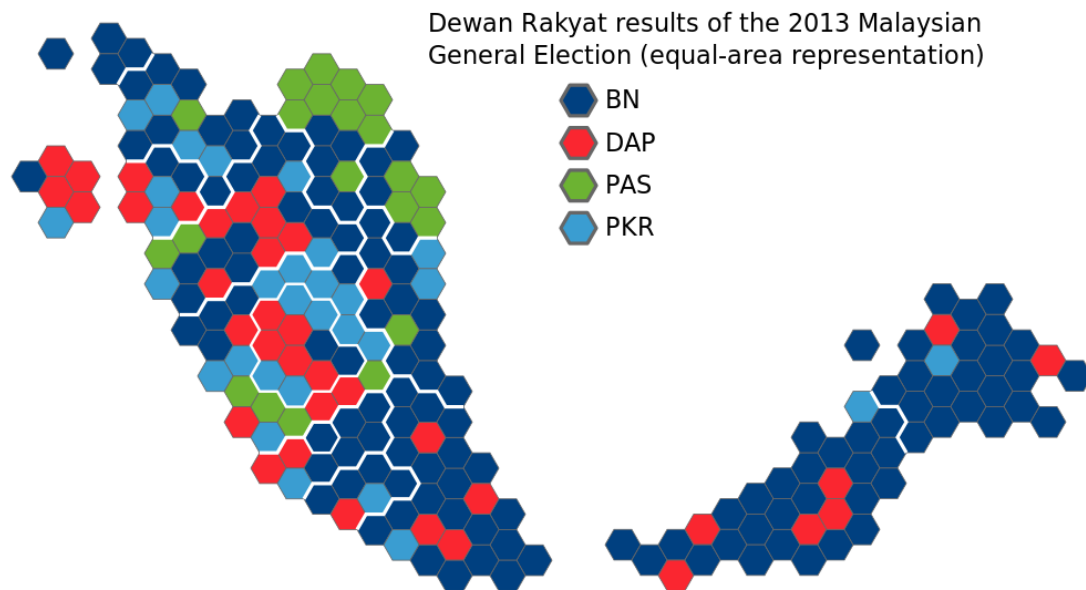


Figure A.3: Dewan Rakyat Results 2013

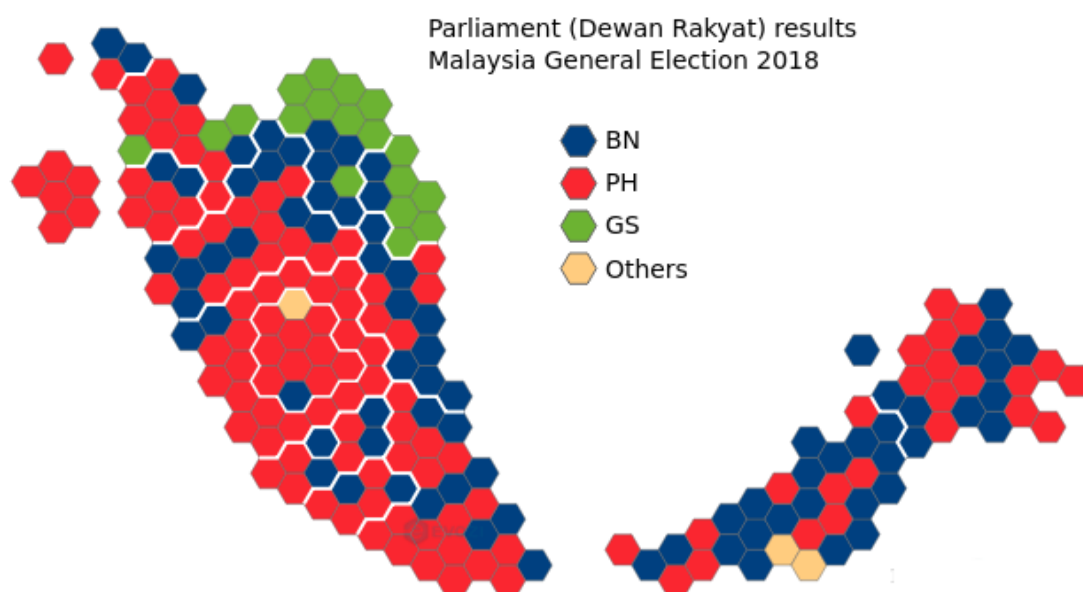


Figure A.4: Dewan Rakyat Results 2018

Survey Questions

Read the following statement to the subject:

You are being asked to participate in this study because you participated in the previous election. The purpose of the research is to better understand relationships between voters and parties in Malaysia. You will be read a series of questions. The survey is voluntary and anonymous, and you do not have to answer any question you do not want to, and will take approximately 3 to 5 minutes. Any questions can be directed towards the survey enumerator.

1. Male: 1 Female: 2
2. What year were you born?
3. What was your last full year of education?
 - 1 No formal education
 - 2 Primary school / Secondary school
 - 3 Certificate / Diploma / Advanced Diploma
 - 4 Bachelor's Degree
 - 5 Master's Degree
 - 6 PhD
4. What is the postcode where you stay?

5. What is the occupation of the main income earner in your household?

- 1 Business Owner
- 2 Professional/Manager/Executive
- 3 Other White Collar
- 4 Skilled/Semi-Skilled Worker
- 5 Unskilled Worker
- 6 Student
- 7 Housewife
- 8 Part-Time/Temporary Worker
- 9 Unemployed

6. How much does your family earn per month? (Code one number)

- 1 Less than 2,000 RM
- 2 2,001 to 5,000 RM
- 3 5,001 to 8,000 RM
- 4 8,001 to 12,000 RM
- 5 12,001 to 15,000 RM
- 6 More than 15,000 RM
- 7 Not willing to disclose

7. Which of the following items, which are in working condition, do you have in your household?

- 1 Air Condition Yes No
- 2 Laptop Yes No
- 3 Home Internet Yes No

8. How many cars are there in your household, either for private and/or business use?

1 = 0

2 = 1

3 = 2

4 = 3

5 = 4

6 = 5

7 = 6 plus

8a. What is the value of your most expensive car in your household? You may have multiple cars, but we are only interested in the most expensive one. Would you say it is in the range of:

1 60,000RM and below

2 60,001RM to 100,000RM

3 100,001RM to 150,000RM

4 150,001RM or more

9. What ethnic group do you belong to?

1 Malay

2 Chinese

3 Indian

4 Other (write in):

10. Do you belong to a religion or religious denomination? (If NO code as 0) IF YES:

What religion or religious denomination do you belong to?

1 No Religious Denomination

- 2 Buddhist
- 3 Muslim
- 4 Traditional Chinese Religion
- 5 Christian Denomination
- 6 Hindu
- 7 Sikh
- 8 Roman Catholic
- 9 Other (write in):

11. How important is religion in your life? Please use this scale to indicate. 10 means “Very Important” and 1 means “Not Important.” (Code one number):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

12. Do you affiliate with a political party? (If NO code as 0) IF YES: What political party do you affiliate with?

- 1 No Affiliation
- 2 United Malays National Organization (UMNO)
- 3 Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA)
- 4 Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC)
- 5 Democratic Action Party (DAP)
- 6 People’s Justice Party (PKR)
- 7 Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PAN)
- 8 Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM)
- 9 Parti Amanah Negara (PAN)

10 Other (Write In):

13. Which coalition did you support in the last election? (If NO code as 0)

0 No Affiliation

1 National Front (Barisan Nasional)

2 People's Pact (Pakatan Harapan)

3 Independent Candidate

4 Other Party

14. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following phrase: The elections for parliament are fair

1 Yes

2 No

3 Don't Know

4 No answer

15. Do you think that honest elections play an important role in deciding whether you and your family are able to make a good living? (IF NO code as 4) IF YES: How important would you say this is—very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important?

1 Very important

2 Rather important

3 Not very important

4 Not at all important

16. I am going to read you a list that mentions various activities, and I would like for you to tell me if they were carried out during the last electoral campaign. Please, DO NOT tell me which ones, only HOW MANY.

You read or watched news about politics;

You talked about politics with other people

You were given a gift/money or someone did you a favor;

Candidates visited your home or workplace;

You worked on a campaign;

[Mark the number:] 1 2 3 4 5 DK is 9 NA is 10

Table A.1a: Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 1

Group	Subgroup	Proportion of Sample	Difference in Means	SE
Gender	Men	52.2%	0.342	(.09)***
	Women	47.8%	-0.850	(.08)
Age	20 - 24	3.35%	-0.294	(.40)
	25 - 29	19.3%	0.319	(.15)**
	30 - 34	20.6%	0.099	(.15)
	35 - 39	14.8%	-0.184	(.17)
	40 - 44	14.5%	0.191	(.18)
	45 - 49	9.5%	0.390	(.20)*
	50 - 54	7.9%	-0.104	(.22)
	55 - 59	5.4%	0.530	(.30)*
	60 - 64	3.0%	-0.380	(.38)
	65- 69	0.79%	-	-
	70-74	0.39%	-	-
	75- 79	0.39%	-	-
	80- 84	0.39%	-	-
	85 plus	0.59%	-	-
Ethnic Group	Malay	50.0%	0.193	(.10)**
	Chinese	41.1%	0.110	(.09)
	Indian	4.45%	-0.420	(.30)
	Other	4.45%	0.030	(.36)
Religious Group	None	4.3%	0.267	(.29)
	Buddhist	24.7%	0.024	(.13)
	Muslim	50.7%	0.186	(.09)*
	Trad. Chinese	1.6%	0.111	(.42)
	Christian	11.6%	0.111	(.17)
	Hindu	3.4%	-0.540	(.34)
	Sikh	-	-	-
	Roman Catholic	2.9%	0.562	(.43)
	Other	0.8%	-	-

^a * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p <0.001

Table A.1b: Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 2

Group	Subgroup	Proportion of Sample	Difference in Means	SE
Education	None	-	-	-
	Primary School	-10.8%	0.607	(.24)***
	Certificate/Diploma	27.9%	0.417	(.13)**
	Bachelor's Degree	50.2%	-0.151	(.08)*
	Master's Degree	9.7%	0.080	(.18)
	PhD	1.1%	0.625	(.53)
Occupation	Business Owner	11.9%	0.374	(.21)*
	Professional/Executive	48.7%	0.052	(.09)
	Other White Collar	15.3%	0.038	(.16)
	Skilled Worker	12.9%	0.236	(.20)
	Unskilled Worker	0.59%	-	-
	Student	0.89%	-	-
	Housewife	2.0%	0.333	(.64)
	Part-time	5.2%	0.226	(.29)
	Unemployed	2.5%	0.266	(.50)
Income	Less than 2000	9.2%	-0.549	(.25)
	2001 to 5000	32.0%	0.438	(.13)***
	5001 to 8000	26.2%	-0.044	(.11)
	8001 to 12000	18.3%	-0.120	(.13)
	12001 to 15000	6.2%	0.169	(.26)
	More than 15000	5.6%	0.244	(.25)
	Not Willing to Disclose	2.5%	0.032	(.40)

^a * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p <0.001

Table A.1c: Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 3

Group	Subgroup	Proportion of Sample	Difference in Means	SE
Party Affiliation	None	54.2%	0.185	(.08)*
	UMNO	16.9%	0.149	(.17)
	MCA	3.5%	-0.021	(.44)
	MIC	0.85%	-	-
	DAP	7.6%	-0.037	(.16)
	PKR	4.4%	0.151	(.27)
	PAS	7.2%	0.129	(.24)
	PPBM	1.9%	0.637	(.59)
	PAN	0.85%	-	-
	OTHER	2.6%	0.356	(.39)
Coalition Support	National Front	40.9%	0.107	(.11)
	People's Pact	42.7%	0.143	(.08)
	Indp. Candidate	10.8%	0.104	(.21)
	Other Party	5.5%	0.321	(.29)
Fair Elections	Yes	34.2%	0.135	(.12)
	No	44.5%	0.171	(.09)*
	Don't Know	17.3%	0.052	(.16)
	No Answer	4.0%	-	-
Honest Elections	Very Important	0.079%	-	-
	Rather Important	2.4%	0.200	(.57)
	Not Very Important	20.3%	0.102	(.15)
	Not At All Important	76.5%	0.137	(.07)*

^a * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p <0.001

Table A.1d: Subgroup Analysis of Sample Data: Part 4

Group	Subgroup	Proportion of Sample	Difference in Means	SE
Urban Rural Divide	Under 2,000	0.79%	1.400	(.57)***
	2,000 to 5,000	0.49%	-	-
	5,001 to 10,000	1.9%	0.518	(.56)
	10,001 to 20,000	3.5%	0.207	(.34)
	20,001 to 50,000	8.2%	0.272	(.27)
	50,001 to 100,000	6.5%	0.083	(.28)
	100,001 to 500,000	53.1%	0.135	(.09)
	500,000 or more	25.1%	0.062	(.12)
Number of Cars	0	2.6%	-0.92	(.38)
	1	35.9%	0.259	(.11)**
	2	40.9%	0.145	(.10)
	3	13.3%	-0.160	(.16)
	4	4.9%	-0.092	(.28)
	5	1.9%	0.257	(.54)
	6 or more	0.49%	-	-
Car Value	60,000RM and below	43.4%	0.173	(.10)*
	60,001RM to 100,000RM	36.7%	0.158	(.11)
	101,000 to 150,000RM	14.1%	-0.178	(.15)
	151,000RM or more	5.8%	0.226	(.30)
State	Johor	12.0%	0.112	(.20)
	Kedah	6.0%	0.093	(.36)
	Kelantan	5.0%	-0.286	(.47)
	Malacca	3.0%	-0.044	(.40)
	Negeri Sembilan	3.0%	0.202	(.36)
	Pahang	5.0%	-0.692	(.56)
	Palau	6.0%	0.182	(.21)
	Perak	8.0%	0.504	(.29)
	Perlis	1.0%	-	-
	Selangor	21.0%	0.095	(.13)
	Terengganu	3.0%	0.250	(.70)
	Sabah	11.0%	0.611	(.23)
	Sarawak	9.0%	0.423	(.19)
	Kuala Lumpur	6.0%	0.055	(.13)

^a * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p <0.001

APPENDIX B

MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER 5

Table B.1: Change in Number of Seats in the 2013 Election

State	B. Nasional	P. Rakyat	Independent
Johor	-4	+4	X
Kedah	-1	+1	-2
Kelantan	+3	-2	-1
Malacca	-1	+1	X
Negeri Sembilan	X	X	X
Pahang	-2	+2	X
Penang	+1	+1	-2
Perak	-1	+2	-1
Perlis	X	X	X
Sabah	+2	X	-2
Sarawak	-4	+4	X
Selangor	-1	+1	X
Terengganu	-2	+2	X
Kuala Lumpur	+1	X	-1
Putra Jaya	X	X	X
Labuan	X	X	X

^a No change in the number of seats is denoted by X

Table B.2: Change in Number of Seats in the 2018 Election

State	B. Nasional	P. Harapan	G. Sejahtera
Johor	-13	+13	X
Kedah	-8	+6	+2
Kelantan	X	X	X
Malacca	-2	+2	X
Negeri Sembilan	-2	+2	X
Pahang	-1	+2	-1
Penang	-1	+1	X
Perak	-1	+5	-4
Perlis	-1	+1	X
Sabah	-12	+11	X
Selangor	-6	+4	X
Terengganu	-3	+7	-4
Sarawak	-2	-1	+3
Kuala Lumpur	-2	+2	X
Labuan	X	X	X
Putra Jaya	X	X	X

^a No change in the number of seats is denoted by X

^b Independents won 1 seat in Sabah and 2 seats in Selangor, not noted in the table

Table B.3: Urbanization and Malay Population by State

State	% of Urbanization	% of Malays by Population
Johor	71.9	45.9
Kedah	54.6	68.8
Kelantan	42.4	68.1
Malacca	86.5	57.0
Negeri Sembilan	66.5	50.3
Pahang	50.5	62.3
Perak	69.7	28.4
Perlis	51.4	76.5
Penang	90.8	35.2
Sabah	54	5.7
Sarawak	53.5	20.0
Selangor	91.4	42.7
Terengganu	59.1	79.4
Kuala Lumpur	100	36.0
Putra Jaya	100	70.3
Labuan	82.3	29.0

Table B.4: Bayesian Model Averaging Output

Variables	PIP	Post Mean	Post SD
2013 Vote Share	1.00	0.94	0.09
2018 Vote Share	0.92	0.47	0.22
2012 BR1M Handouts	0.64	-0.34	0.36
2017 BR1M Handouts	0.42	0.15	0.33
Gender	0.41	-0.04	0.25
Ethnicity	0.31	-0.07	0.18
Mahathir	0.21	0.01	0.09
Urbanization	0.20	0.01	0.08

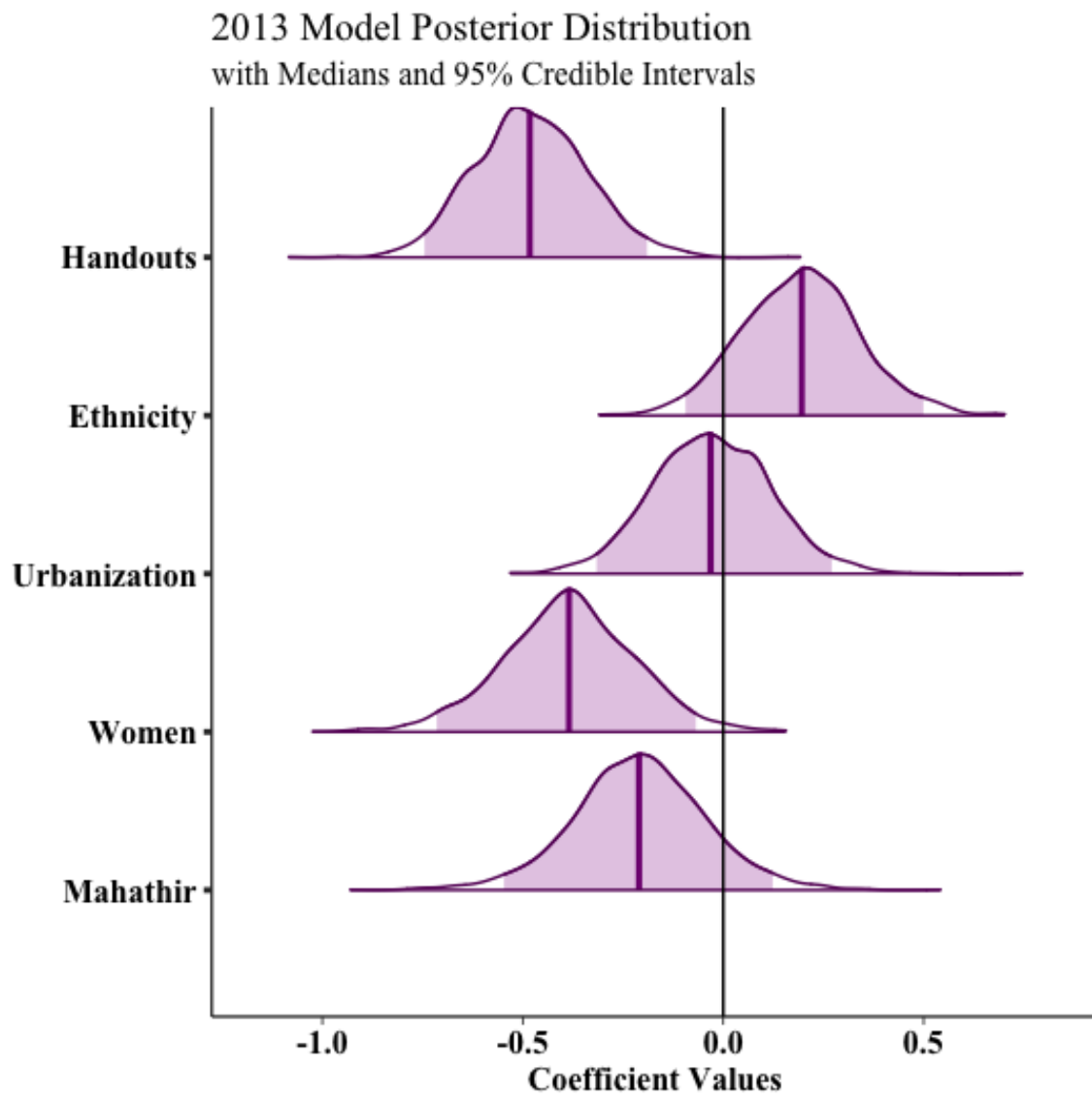


Figure B.1: Pooled Model Posterior Distribution

Table B.5: Frequentist Linear Regression Model for the 2013 Election

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Party Competition
2012 BR1M Handouts	−0.434* (0.222)
Urbanization	−0.078 (0.223)
Malay	0.463 (0.313)
Gender	−1.070** (0.363)
Mahathir	−0.111 (0.228)
Constant	−0.000 (0.165)
Observations	16
R ²	0.708
Adjusted R ²	0.562
Residual Std. Error	0.662 (df = 10)
F Statistic	4.847** (df = 5; 10)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table B.6: Frequentist Linear Regression Model for the 2018 Election

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Party Competition
2017 BR1M Handouts	−0.636** (0.256)
Urbanization	−0.247 (0.253)
Malay	0.458 (0.379)
Gender	−0.628 (0.434)
Mahathir	−0.355 (0.268)
Constant	0.000 (0.197)
Observations	16
R ²	0.586
Adjusted R ²	0.378
Residual Std. Error	0.788 (df re= 10)
F Statistic	2.826* (df = 5; 10)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

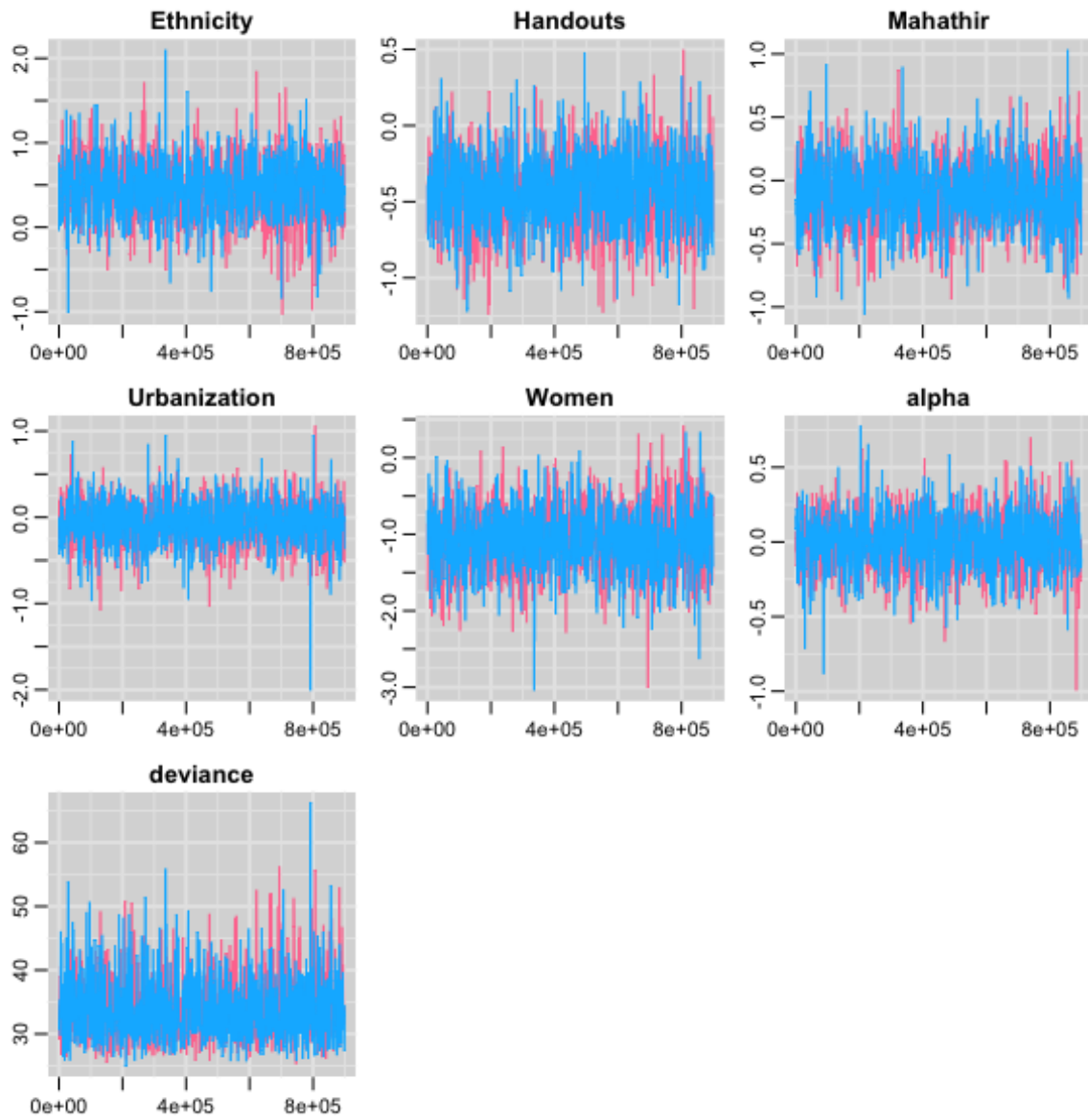


Figure B.2: Convergence Diagnostics for the 2013 Model

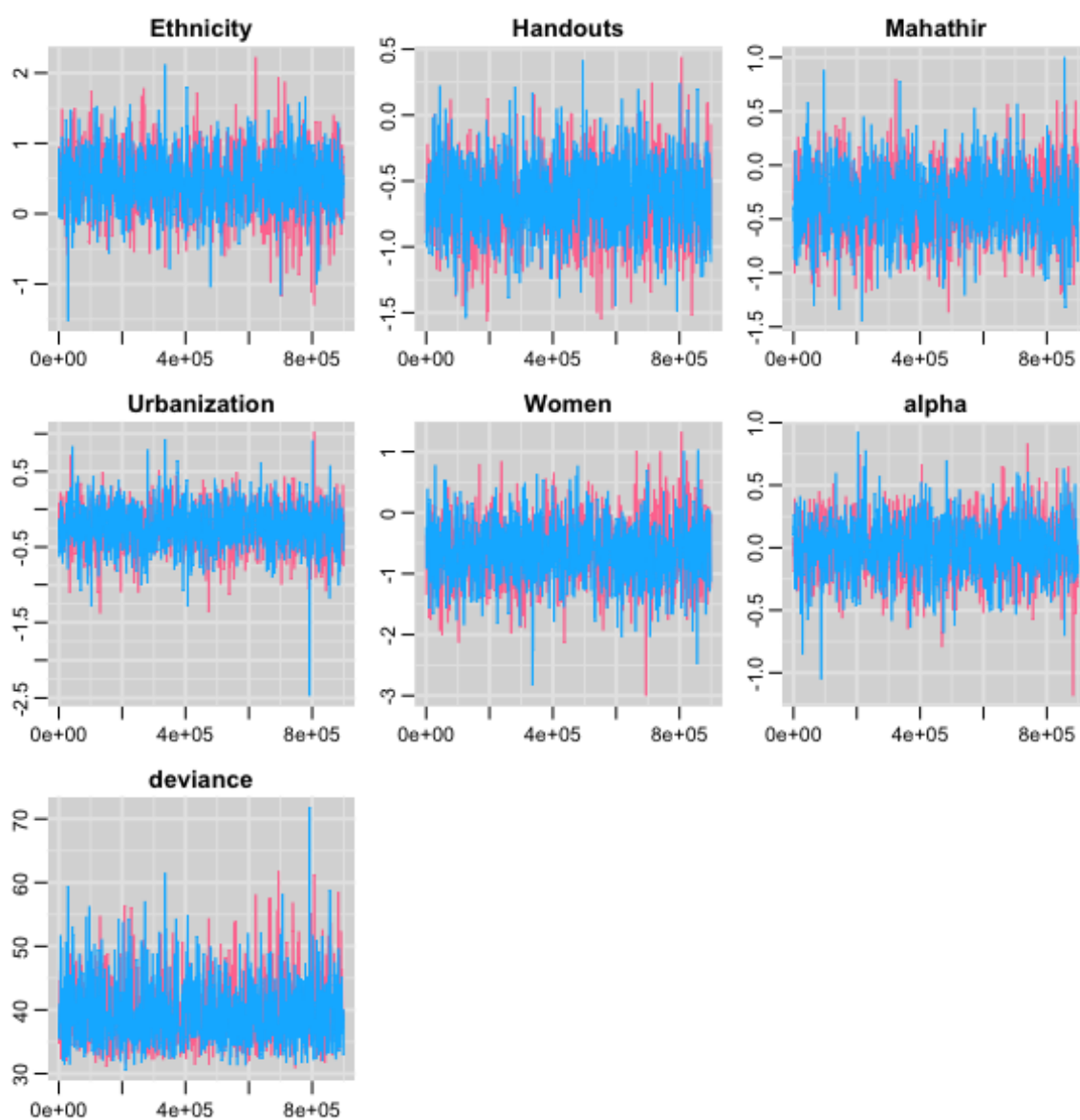


Figure B.3: Convergence Diagnostics for the 2018 Model

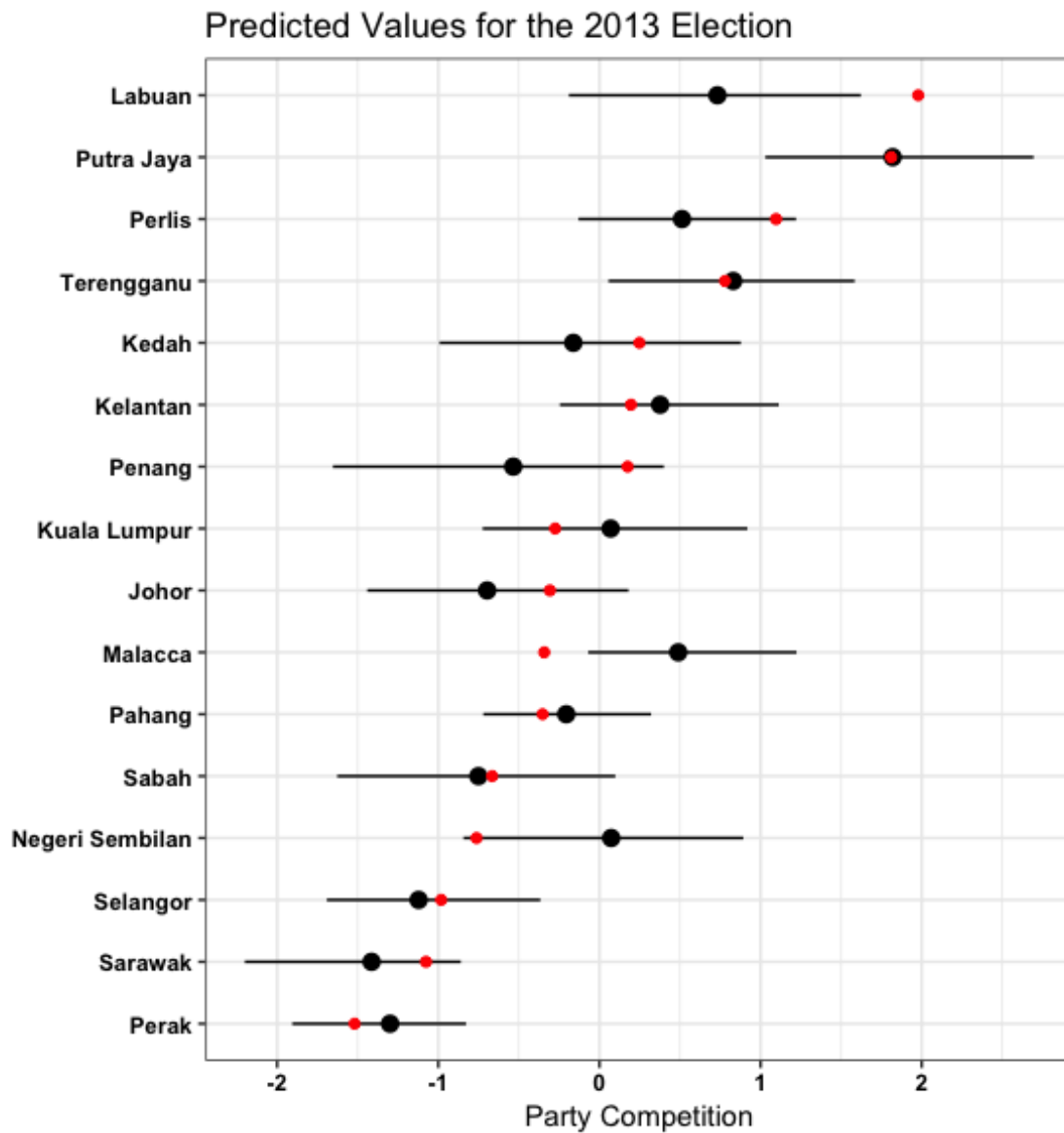


Figure B.4: Predicted Probabilities for the 13th General Election with 90% Confidence Intervals

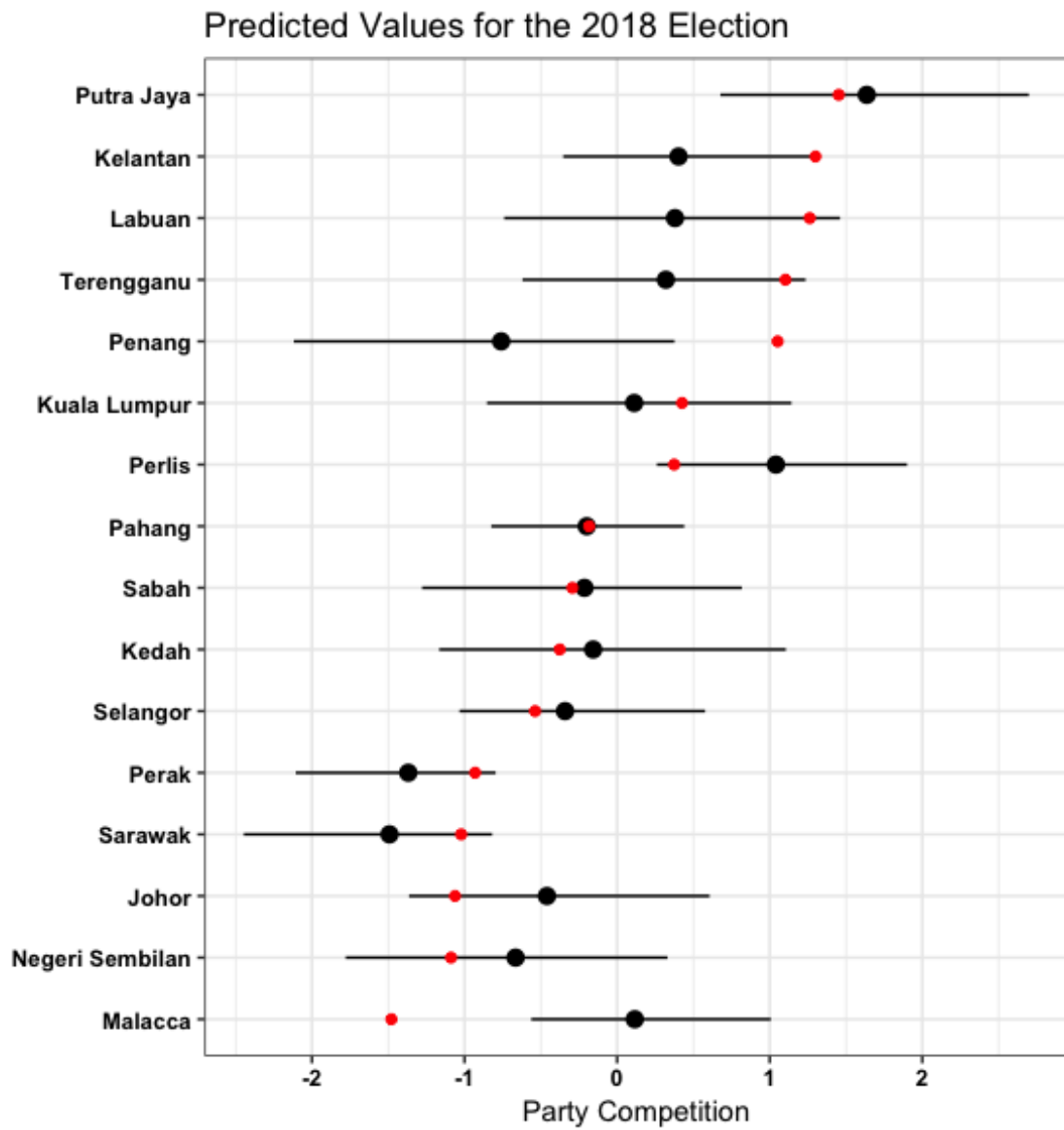


Figure B.5: Predicted Probabilities for the 14th General Election with 90% Confidence Intervals